But by My Spirit:
A HISTORY OF THE CHARISMATIC RENEWAL IN CHRISTCHURCH 1960-1985

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Abstract

Charismatic renewal was a world-wide religious phenomenon affecting the historic churches from the early 1960s onwards. It was separate, but related to antecedents in evangelicalism, revivalism and pentecostalism.

This study is a history of charismatic renewal as it appeared and evolved in the South Island city of Christchurch, New Zealand, between 1960 and 1985. The central argument is that the Christchurch renewal reached the zenith of its organisational cohesion in the mid-1970s but the momentum ebbed thereafter. What happened in the city across these years to build the impetus is perhaps unique within New Zealand. The thesis traces these developments and considers how such a significant religious phenomenon was grafted into and affected established ecclesiological constituencies.

This is believed to be the first study of its type to place the renewal within a fully historical, inter-denominational and regional context. It is a study of how renewal found expression in one city; of how and why it grew and of its fragmentation and relative decline. This focus on the local context reveals the finely textured and nuanced nature of the phenomenon. It concludes that the charismatic renewal in Christchurch stimulated qualitative growth within various churches and denominations and greatly invigorated the Christian message. It did not, however, arrest wider societal trends towards secularism, religious pluralism, and declining attendance in the historic churches. The enthusiasm and energy of the Christchurch renewal waned in the face of pervasive social, economic and political change in the mid-1980s.

Preface

This study arises from a longstanding interest and involvement in charismatic activities and churches. A move to Christchurch in May 1994 led to visits of churches—at least 15—around the city in search of a 'church home'. With what was believed to be a fairly open mind on the matter, these visits encompassed a range of styles including sacramental, liturgical, evangelical, pentecostal, and evangelical-charismatic churches. My wife Celia and I eventually settled at Hornby Presbyterian, a church with a strong evangelical-charismatic ethos, and as I subsequently found out, a fascinating past, as well.

It soon became apparent that the wider church scene in Christchurch also had an interesting history. Discussions with a former flatmate who had lived in the city and happened to have an academic background in history as well as a vital and first-hand experience in the New Life Centre, fuelled my interest and curiosity in Christchurch's recent religious history. We had many preliminary discussions before a formal approach was made to the History Department at the University of Canterbury. From there the decision was made—not without considerable reflection on what was involved as a part-time student—to begin a study of charismatic renewal in Christchurch.

A number of people have assisted in the preparation of this thesis. First and foremost I want to thank my Senior Supervisor, Professor John Cookson of the University of Canterbury and my Co-Supervisor, Associate Professor Peter Lineham of Massey University (the Albany Campus). Both encouraged and mentored me throughout the long duration of this study and it has been my privilege to work with two such experienced scholars. Their academic insights were complemented by their knowledge of Christchurch; both having lived here for many years. John's humour and gentle forbearance were greatly appreciated, as was Peter's enthusiasm and challenge to consider things from angles I hadn't thought of.

In addition, friends and colleagues have helped in various ways. My thanks, in no set order, to: Nyalle Paris, Bruce Logan, Paul Henderson, Denise Gardiner, Neil Riley, Brett Mann and Murray Talbot. Thanks too, to the numerous people who lent me resources and allowed me to record their stories. This was a real privilege and special thanks to Vince Smith, David Smith, Chris Wyatt, Rev. Owen Woodfield, Archdeacon Dale Williamson and Pastor Max Palmer—the material these people provided was invaluable. Colin Brown also provided wise counsel early on in the project, and my parents, Bob and Lorna Reid, were very loving and supportive throughout.

For her constant love, patience and encouragement, to name a few of her many qualities, I also thank my dear wife, Celia. This study may not have seen the light of day had it not been for her support all the way through. And finally, thanks too, to my children: Jonathan, Andrew and Victoria who never complained when their Dad was away so often in the evenings and at weekends.

in omnibus glorificetur Deus

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Abbreviations

ACE	Accelerated Christian Education
AOG	Assembly of God
ARM	Anglican Renewal Ministries
BGEA	Billy Graham Evangelistic Association
CAM	Christian Advance Ministries
FGBMFI	Full Gospel Business Men's Fellowship International
NCC	National Council of Churches
WCC	World Council of Churches
YFC	Youth For Christ
YWAM	Youth With A Mission

All Bible verses are from the *New International Version*.

Chapter 1

Introduction and Bibliographic Essay

This chapter explains the scope and aim of the study beginning with an understanding of what is meant by 'charismatic renewal' and why that term is preferred to others. The first section also discuses the importance and value of an inter-denominational analysis and clarifies the 'Christchurch' focus. This sets a broad map of the territory both conceptually and geographically covered in this study.

This is followed by a bibliographic review which suggests that a further study in this area of contemporary church history is justified.[1] The first recognised manifestations of charismatic renewal in New Zealand occurred in 1964, although there had been much initial activity prior to that year and a general awakening of interest in evangelism and mission, stemming largely, but not exclusively, from the visit of Billy Graham in 1959. It was a decade later, however, before any in-depth consideration of charismatic renewal in New Zealand was produced in 1974.

Since then a number of studies have appeared, some from a denominational perspective, exploring a theme (music or 'tongues', for example), and others focusing on pentecostalism or related aspects such as evangelicalism and the ecumenical movement. Difficulties with basic concepts are compounded by the close links with other populist religious expressions and that the charismatic renewal itself presupposes a particular interpretation of church history.

The final section discusses in more detail why the present study is justified, the parameters of what is covered (and omitted) including a précis of each subsequent chapter. Concluding remarks are made regarding the contribution to the wider field of scholarship that it is believed this investigation will make.

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[1] Only a selection of studies, mostly those produced within New Zealand in the last two decades will be mentioned here. This gives some indication of the themes and topics dealt with in recent years.

1.1. Mapping the Territory

1.1.1. 'Charismatic Renewal'

It is common, particularly when only passing reference is made to charismatic phenomena, to confuse the terms 'Neo-Pentecostalism', 'Charismatic Movement', 'Charismatic Revival', and 'Charismatic Renewal'.[2] In his pioneering 1974 study Allen Neil discussed the problem of nomenclature. He argued that 'charismatic renewal'—lower case letters—best described what was taking place within the institutional churches at that time. It also captured something of the informality and absence of bureaucratic organisation that a capitalised title might suggest. He noted that:

> 'Pentecostal churches' or 'Pentecostalism' (capital 'P') means the older movement outside the historic churches; 'charismatic renewal' (small 'c' and 'r') is that which is taking place within the institutional churches; 'pentecostalism' (small 'p') refers to the renewal as a whole, without distinction.[3]
>
> The use of the term 'charismatic renewal': 'charismatic' is preferable to 'pentecostalism' for four reasons:
>
> i) 'pentecostal' has become largely associated with a particular denomination or sect
>
> ii) many in the historic churches who are charismatic are dissatisfied with some of the traditional Pentecostal explanations regarding 'baptism in the Spirit'
>
> iii) the emergence within the main-line [sic] churches, particularly those of the 'Catholic' tradition has led to a new experiential quest for the ancient charismata and a new theological reflection on their meaning
>
> iv) it is a term free from many of the prejudicial connotations connected with the term 'pentecostal'.[4]

Citing the Roman Catholic theologian Kilian McDonnell, Neil correctly linked the focus of charismatic spirituality with 'the fullness of life in the Holy Spirit, the exercise of gifts of the Spirit, directed towards the proclamation that Jesus is

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[2] Colin Brown speaks of 'the definitional hurdle' in relation to fundamentalism, but this applies equally to 'charismatic renewal'. 'Where have all the fundamentalists gone?' in Bryan Gilling (Ed), *Be Ye Separate—Fundamentalism and the New Zealand Experience* (Hamilton: University of Waikato and Colcom Press, Waikato Studies in Religion, Vol. 3, 1992), p. 142.

[3] Allen Neil, 'The Institutional Churches and the Charismatic Movement—A Study of the Charismatic Renewal in the Anglican Church in New Zealand', Unpublished S.Th. Thesis, St. John's College, Auckland, 1974, p. ii.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Lord to the glory of the Father',[5] and he distinguished it from 'Classical Pentecostalism' which referred to that which was present in the pentecostal churches founded since 1900.[6]

A similar case for 'charismatic renewal' was presented by fellow Anglican cleric, Donald Battley in 1982 when he said:

> Is it a "*renewal* or *movement*"? This depends on your point of view. It *is* a movement in the sense of an occurrence which produces motion or effect. But it is not a movement in the human sense of being highly and deliberately organised. It is a *disorganised* affair.
>
> It is a "renewal" in the sense of something which make old things newly alive or effective, or brings persons alive to new realities. It is a renewal *of the Church...*[7]

'Charismatic renewal' is also employed throughout this study. While it may have been accurate at the time Neil was writing, 'Neo-Pentecostalism' is tied to the primacy of pentecostal experience whereas the renewal (even then and more so subsequently), was developing its own emphases. 'Neo Pentecostalism' had historical validity in the late 1960s when the appearance of the *charismata* in the institutional churches could best be understood and explained with reference to classical pentecostalism. Manifestations of 'tongues' or *glossolalia* and accounts of 'baptism in the Holy Spirit' were not widely known at that time in the historic churches and contemporary connections with pentecostalism were obvious and understandable.

Even a cursory examination of church history however, confirms that the classical pentecostals of the early twentieth century cannot claim exclusive access to Spirit baptism, tongues and other demonstrative 'gifts of the Spirit'. These phenomena have been present since Pentecost, the common pattern

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[5] Neil, 'The Institutional Churches', p. 2.

[6] See Stanley M. Burgess, Gary B. McGee (Eds) and Patrick H. Alexander (Assistant Ed), *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing, 1987), p. 567. Neil however, cites an earlier (1972) paper by McDonnell, 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit as an Ecumenical Problem', *ibid.*

[7] Donald H. Battley, 'What is Genuine and What is Ephemeral in the Charismatic Wind?' in John M. Ker and Kelvin J. Sharpe (Eds), *Towards an Authentic New Zealand Theology—Proceedings of the 1982 Meetings of the Auckland Theology Forum* (Auckland: University of Auckland Chaplaincy Publishing Trust, 1984), Fourth Meeting, 5 June 1982, p. 39, emphasis in original.

being groups of enthusiastic believers forming into sect-like clusters with or without the approval of the established ecclesiastical order.

'Charismatic Movement' can be applied to the international phenomenon of charismatic influence affecting the historic churches after 1960. In strict terms it was a 'movement', denoting as it did, 'a series of actions and endeavours by a body of persons, tending more or less continuously towards some special end'.[8] It is more accurate however, to identify the end which, in this case, was the invigoration or *renewal* of the churches. Renewing the church would come through the rediscovery and appropriation of the *charismata,* or the supernatural gifts first evident among believers at Pentecost. 'Charismatic Movement' then, is not inaccurate, but *charismatic renewal* is more specific, and, as noted, captures the informality typical of charismatic events as well as a general distaste of formal organisation and bureaucratic structure that 'Movement' might perhaps imply.[9]

Similarly, 'Charismatic Revival' correctly identifies charismatic activity within the wider history of revivalism, and 'reviving' and 'renewing' are virtually synonymous terms. 'Renewal' is preferred in this study simply to distinguish from historic revivals and the revivalist tradition generally.[10] It may be that 'revival' is more correctly used retrospectively to describe the religious events and activities of a particular period, whereas 'renewal' suggests an on-going process—this was certainly how most participants in the Christchurch story viewed their endeavours. Growing 'in the Spirit' knew no bounds and was an understanding central to the hopes and aspirations of renewal advocates.

1.1.2. Inter-denominational Focus

The charismatic renewal readily transcended denominational and other boundaries.[11] At its peak in Christchurch it affected virtually all churches even if, as was the case in some Brethren assemblies, the Reformed Church and

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[8] *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* Vol. II, and Addenda, 1973, p. 1366.
[9] See Burgess et al., *Dictionary,* p. 130 for further specification of 'Charismatic Movement'.
[10] 'Revivalism' is a more modern term describing organised efforts of mass evangelism, often in the hope that genuine revival will accompany or follow such efforts. See 2.1.1, pp. 24-26.
[11] Namely, Catholic-Protestant, charismatic-pentecostal and clergy-laity boundaries.

fundamentalist groups, charismatic claims were examined only to be summarily dismissed or as an opportunity to reassert already held doctrinal positions.

In the New Zealand context, 'mainline churches' usually refers to the major Protestant denominations: Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, while the Roman Catholic Church, although relatively large in terms of members and adherents, has historically been considered separate. The traditional evangelical denominations include Baptists, Plymouth Brethren, the Churches of Christ and the Salvation Army. In Christchurch these churches were all impacted by the renewal to some degree. Accordingly, none have been excluded from consideration in the present study, although clearly the organisational roots of the New Zealand renewal lay with a group of Anglican clergy, but representatives from other churches were also involved in the early years.[12] Christian Advance Ministries (CAM) was established to serve leaders in the Anglo-Catholic traditions but its influence became genuinely inter-denominational, including pentecostals.

The Brethren in particular, were profoundly affected by the renewal and although many denied the validity of spiritual gifts under the present dispensation[13]—tongues for example, were to cease after the birth of the Church—others were open to the possibility given the eschatological concerns of the 1960s and the need for the church to adapt and meet these challenges. The autonomy of each assembly and wide variety of lay leadership meant both positions were evident in the Christchurch Brethren.

Not included in this study are quasi-Christian churches such as the Christadelphians, Christian Science, the Church of Latter Day Saints (Mormons)[14] and the Jehovah's Witnesses, all of which were active in Christchurch in the period under review. These groups tend to be exclusive in doctrine and polity

[12] Two English visitors associated with the Brethren assemblies, Arthur Wallis and Campbell McAlpine, were also active in the period 1959-1964, see 5.1.3, pp. 146-47.

[13] 'According to the *Scofield Reference Bible*, "A dispensation is a period of time during which man is tested in respect to his obedience to some specific revelation of the will of God." (p. 5) ', Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 247.

[14] The Latter Day Saints applied to join the NCC in 1952 and again in 1955, but were declined on both occasions 'on the grounds that the group concerned claimed exclusive authority'. Colin Brown, *Forty Years*

and have only superficial connection to the historic Christian faith. The Jehovah's Witnesses in particular, are highly critical of ecumenical developments ('inter-faith') and any accommodation of Roman Catholics. Phenomena associated with the charismatic renewal are not unknown among groups such as the Latter Day Saints, and a cornerstone of Christian Science is divine healing, but these churches properly lie beyond the scope of the present analysis.[15]

While denominational ties remained, the renewal brought about a new understanding in and desire for *unity*. This was possible, it was believed, not via structural or administrative means, but through an 'openness to the Spirit' and coming together as a single entity, 'the body of Christ'.[16] So pervasive was this goal that sectarian boundaries virtually dissolved at the height of the renewal. Analysis of a single denomination does not accommodate this key feature that made renewal so attractive. As will become evident, the interaction between churches was a source of much initiative and activity. Although idealistic and eventually unsustainable, this close co-operation was seen as a witness of unity and the way the Church was meant to function.

1.1.3. 'Christchurch'

The events and activities referred to in this study are centred on the city of Christchurch, the most populous urban centre in the South Island of New Zealand.

Christchurch's centricity (brought about not least by its flat typography) assisted in undermining a well-established system of religious allegiance. Parish loyalties were further eroded in the 1960s by the demands of a demographically significant number of young people, and more social and psychological senses of 'belonging' when it came to religious affiliation. Pastor Peter Morrow, for

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On—A History of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand 1941-1981 (Christchurch: NCC, 1981), p. 88.

[15] Seventh Day Adventists are comparatively more accepting of major doctrines than Latter Day Saints or Jehovah's Witnesses, but remain exclusive in terms of the Saturday Sabbath and an unequivocal dismissal of Roman Catholics.

[16] Naïvely, many charismatics considered structured ecumenism a failure which made it easy to dismiss. Not all however; CAM director Ray Muller for example, addressed the executive of the NCC on its (CAM's) activities in April 1974. Brown, *Forty Years On,* p. 196.

example, who was a catalyst for much early charismatic activity, welcomed all-comers to his meetings, many of whom came from the historic churches, and as accounts of their experiences will demonstrate, the Revival Fellowship (where he was based) was a place of 'belonging' in a *de facto* rather than formal manner. While denominational loyalties remained, a marked feature of the period covered in this study were the eclectic sources of 'feeding' that charismatics were prepared to pursue—the Revival Fellowship, other pentecostal and ecumenical meetings, conferences and seminars. This fluidity was both a cause and consequence of the momentum of renewal.

For the purposes of this investigation 'Christchurch' is not defined by city boundaries in any strict sense. The focus is on inner-city and suburban developments but these affected surrounding townships such as Rangiora, Leeston and Kaiapoi (*inter alia*). Charismatic groups from the city regularly visited and worked in these areas and, as appropriate, these events are included in the Christchurch story.

A potential ambiguity lies in the fact that city precincts were constantly redefined in relation to population increases and local government boundary changes after World War II. Although re-organisation of local government was attempted with the 1948 Local Government Commission, it was not until 1990 that the remaining suburban areas were finally absorbed into Greater Christchurch. Assessing the impact of renewal raises issues concerning not just the effects on churches, but the civic community as well. As will be discussed near the end of the study, both the churches and the wider community were affected; particularly the former, although the activities of charismatics contributed to civic awareness of Christian issues through participation in events such as the Jesus Marches and city-wide public events in the Town Hall and other centres. The emphasis here, however, is on churches and the wider Christian community.

The impact of charismatic renewal on the civic community and how that would be measured remain matters of conjecture and a subject for separate investigation.

1.2. A Bibliographic Review

1.2.1. The Emerging Literature

Dating only from the 1960s charismatic renewal is a recent historical phenomenon. Accordingly this is an emerging area of religious scholarship with detailed and thematic studies of the New Zealand scene appearing only since the mid-1970s.[17] These studies stand in contrast to apologia, teaching, ministry and other books, of which there were a considerable number being published in this period.

Scholarly New Zealand studies paralleled the first major appraisals elsewhere including *The Pentecostals* by Swiss theologian Walter Hollenweger in 1972;[18] the writings of noted Catholic ecumenical author Kilian McDonnell beginning in 1973,[19] and Robert Culpepper's *Evaluating the Charismatic Movement* in 1977.[20] Sociological studies have also included charismatic themes among wider studies of sects and religious minorities.[21]

As mentioned, Allen Neil's thesis, 'The Institutional Churches and the Charismatic Movement—A Study of the Charismatic Renewal in the Anglican Church in New Zealand', was probably the first in-depth treatment of the New Zealand renewal. This was prepared as part of the author's training for the

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[17] These were mostly in the form of research essays, theses, articles and papers which vary in their scholarly treatment of renewal. Parish histories, particularly those prepared in the last decade often mention renewal if the church concerned was affected, but tend to be celebratory rather than analytical in tone.

[18] Walter J. Hollenweger, R. A. Wilson (Translator), *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM, 1972). An earlier edition appeared in 1969.

[19] McDonnell was principal author of the first attempt to explain renewal in a document of international significance, the 'Statement of the Theological Basis of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal', in 1973. His later book, *Charismatic Renewal and the Churches* (New York, Seabury Press, 1976) was said to bring 'new levels of "responsibility" [sic] to tongues-speakers, with its assessment of all the pertinent psychological studies to date', Burgess et al., *Dictionary,* p. 567.

[20] Robert H. Culpepper, *Evaluating the Charismatic Movement—A Theological and Biblical Appraisal* (Pennsylvania: The Judson Press, 1977).

[21] See for example, the early writings of eminent Oxford sociologist Bryan Wilson, *Sects and Society—The Sociology of Three Religious Groups in Britain* (London: Heinemann, 1961), and *Religious Sects* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1970). Michael Hill's *A Sociology of Religion* (London: Heinemann, 1973), and his paper, 'The Sectarian Contribution—Do sects thrive while churches languish?' in Brian Colless and Peter Donovan (Eds), *Religion in New Zealand Society* (Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1980), pp. 115-32, are other early sociological accounts of pentecostal and charismatic spirituality; the latter making specific reference to New Zealand in the 1970s. For a more complete list of Hill's writing see Peter Lineham, *Religious History of New Zealand—A Bibliography* (Palmerston North: Department of History, Massey University, 1993), pp. 74-75.

Anglican ministry at St. John's College in Auckland. It was a qualitative analysis of five Anglican parishes in Auckland but included the Catholic Charismatic Renewal as developments in that church, particularly the Life in the Spirit seminars (originating in Ann Arbor, Michigan), were beginning to be felt in New Zealand. The author correctly observed that 'charismatic renewal in the Catholic Church (CC) has (in contrast) concentrated on prayer groups *outside* of the parish structure'.[22] Neil traced the origins and development of 'classical Pentecostalism' as well as theological considerations and ecclesiological implications of 'baptism in the Holy Spirit'.[23]

A wider study, *A History of the Charismatic Movements in New Zealand*, was published the same year by the senior Apostolic pastor James Worsfold.[24] In this book 'charismatic' was generically applied meaning *charismata* and the author's actual emphasis is on the growth and development of the pentecostal churches in New Zealand, with a concluding chapter on ecumenism and appendices on Presbyterian and Baptist responses to 'Neo-Pentecostalism'. Worsfold's first-hand knowledge, research, recollections and contacts make this a rich source of factual and generally reliable information.

The Neil and Worsfold studies are seminal works which have been cited by most researchers exploring both broad and specific aspects of charismatic and pentecostal history in New Zealand.

1.2.2. Evangelical and Pentecostal Studies

Possibly the first appraisal of pentecostal influence in New Zealand was Charles Waldegrave's educational psychology research essay 'Social and Personality Correlates of Pentecostalism', in 1972.[25] The author explored social and personal differences and attitudes between pentecostal and non-pentecostal Christian

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[22] Neil, 'The Institutional Churches', p. 6, emphasis in original.

[23] Neil also ministered in Christchurch. At the time the thesis was prepared (1973) he was Assistant Curate at Papanui, in Shirley (1975), and then Associate Priest in Rangiora (from February 1977). He was also involved in the music ministry at the 1976 and 1977 CAM Summer Schools. By 1983 Neil had moved to Wigram Air Base as Chaplain.

[24] James E. Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements in New Zealand* (West Yorkshire: The Julian Literature Trust, 1974).

students. This was followed by Worsfold's history tracing the origins and development of the various churches in New Zealand in 1974. This remains the standard published work on pentecostalism although Worsfold was writing at a time (the early 1970s) when many pentecostal churches and groups were experiencing unprecedented growth,[26] meaning further studies are yet to appear analysing the reasons for this within and across the churches affected.

Other studies such as Douglas Ireton's 'A Time to Heal', in 1984 explored more specific aspects of pentecostal history.[27] This is an account of the famed English pentecostal Smith Wigglesworth and why his ministry had appeal in the early 1920s; while a later study by Ireton,' "O Lord, How Long?" ' was an inquiry into noted Auckland evangelists during the 1920s and early 1930s.[28] This thesis and a similar work by Jane Simpson, 'Joseph W. Kemp and the Impact of American Fundamentalism in New Zealand' (also presented in 1986),[29] focused on the related areas of fundamentalism and revivalism. A major study of mass evangelism in New Zealand was Bryan Gilling's 'Retelling the Old, Old Story', in 1990.[30] His analysis of the 1959 Billy Graham crusade is significant because this event occurred just prior to the advent of charismatic renewal and in itself did much to bring those in the historic churches together under the auspices of the NCC and a common goal—effective evangelism.

Worsfold dealt with the pentecostal churches, but the first full investigation of the independent pentecostal stream was Brett Knowles's long essay, 'For the Sake of the Name' in 1988.[31] He traced the early history of the New Life Churches from their origins in 1942 through to 1965. This study was expanded

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[25] Charles T. Waldegrave, 'Society and Personality Correlates of Pentecostalism—A Comparison of Pentecostal and non-Pentecostal Christian Students', Unpublished B.Phil. Research Essay, University of Waikato, 1972.
[26] Pentecostal churches in New Zealand grew 150 percent in the decade 1971 to 1981. On its own this figure shows remarkable growth, but its significance is that much greater when compared with the figures across the same period for other churches: Methodist, minus 19 percent (-19%); Presbyterian, minus 11 percent (-11%), Roman Catholic 2 percent (+ 2%), and Baptist, 6 percent (+ 6%). Burgess et al., *Dictionary,* p. 187.
[27] Douglas Ireton, 'A Time to Heal—The Appeal of Smith Wigglesworth in New Zealand 1922-24', Unpublished B.A. (Honours) Research Essay, Massey University, 1984.
[28] ' "O Lord, How Long?"—A Revival Movement in New Zealand 1920-1933', Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Massey University, 1986.
[29] Jane Simpson, 'Joseph W. Kemp and the Impact of American Fundamentalism in New Zealand', Unpublished B.A. (Honours) Research Essay, University of Waikato, 1986.
[30] Bryan Gilling, 'Retelling the Old, Old Story—A Study of Six Mass Evangelistic Missions in Twentieth Century New Zealand', Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, University of Waikato, 1990.

at the doctoral level as 'Some Aspects of the History of the New Life Churches' in 1994.[32] The author made frequent references to Christchurch, the activities of Peter Morrow and the beginnings of the charismatic renewal in the city, although in terms of methodology, national rather than regional developments were the focus.

Knowles also challenged the 1979 thesis of American Robert Anderson who had linked the growth of pentecostalism in the United States with the socio-economically 'disinherited' class. Knowles presented socio-economic data tracking the occupations and incomes of those affected by early pentecostal outreaches in the 1960s. He correctly cites problems with Anderson's thesis as it relates to New Zealand. Given that pentecostal constituencies expanded considerably from the mid-1960s and that that decade was characterised by economic affluence and a prevailing sense of egalitarianism, the disinheritance, or 'status deprivation' hypothesis, he concluded, did not obtain.[33]

1.2.3. Charismatic Studies

Scholarly responses paralleled the broad changes occurring within the renewal itself. The first studies in the 1970s analysed the initial impact and origins of the New Zealand renewal (Neil, for example), while sufficient time had elapsed for researchers later in the decade (such as Colin Brown), to present tentative assessments of what the renewal had contributed to the denominational churches in New Zealand as well as account for causes of growth.[34]

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[31] Brett Knowles, 'For the Sake of the Name—A History of the "New Life Churches" from 1942 to 1965', Unpublished B.Th. (Honours) Research Essay, Otago University, 1988.

[32] 'Some Aspects of the History of the New Life Churches in New Zealand 1960-1990', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Otago, 1994.

[33] In view of these findings, the present analysis does not feature class-based theories as significant in the rise of the Christchurch renewal. Without replicating Knowles's empirical investigation, anecdotal and other observations suggest that class was not a decisive variable.

[34] Brown wrote a number of papers and articles on the renewal. The first appears to be one presented at a Colloquium on Religious Studies in Auckland in August 1975, 'Pentecostalism, Neo-Pentecostalism and Naturalistic Explanation'. Two later papers appeared as chapters in Colless and Donovan (Eds), *Religion in New Zealand Society;* 'The Ecumenical Contribution', pp. 81-97, and 'The Charismatic Contribution', pp. 99-114. Brown has also written on related topics such as fundamentalism and church union. His wide experience as a religious studies lecturer and ordained Anglican priest make him a leading scholar in this area.

Denominational and group studies also began to appear at this juncture. Changes in the Catholic renewal led to a thesis by Michael Myers, 'Organisational Change in the Auckland Catholic Charismatic Movement',[35] and Peter Lineham's account of the Brethren reaction to the renewal, and tongues in particular,[36] probed different but equally important aspects of the phenomenon. The tension when unfamiliar beliefs and practices are accommodated into existing structures has a two-way effect: it modifies the nature of those beliefs in order to gain a wider constituency, and it generates considerable theological debate (including as Lineham describes, quite personal differences as well).

By the early 1980s some clergy were able to identify and write about the patterns and nuances of renewal. Two key charismatics within the Anglican communion, Donald Battley and David Harper, the latter with parish experience in Christchurch, issued a number of symposium and seminar papers.[37] Although a participant, in his 1982 paper, Battley offers a reflective and generally accurate assessment in listing 'some identifiable positives',[38] along with a rider that much of what was then occurring had the propensity to be ephemeral in nature: 'The church [he said] can easily curb and crush such developments. It might do so still. At present it may be trying to starve it out. If you want to be a charismatic you have to feed yourself',[39] while four years later, he noted the beginnings of 'a time of depression'.[40]

A contextual study of renewal at the parish level appeared in 1984. Nola Ker's thesis was a sociological analysis combining empirical data (as a participant-observer in an Anglican parish) with hypotheses generated from Jürgen

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[35] Michael Myers, 'Organisational Change in the Auckland Catholic Charismatic Movement', Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Auckland University, 1978.

[36] 'Tongues Must Cease—The Brethren and the Charismatic Movement in New Zealand', *Christian Brethren Research Fellowship Journal,* No. 96, December 1982, pp. 1-48.

[37] Harper was a leader of the renewal in the Christchurch and Auckland dioceses, and later a CAM director. His 1982 papers, 'The Charismatic Renewal I', *Latimer*, No. 76, September 1982, pp. 26-30, and 'Charismatic Experience II—Evolving Experience of God', *Latimer*, No. 77, September 1982, pp. 27-31, were primarily a mix of testimony and theological justification.

[38] Battley in Ker and Sharpe (Eds), *Towards an Authentic New Zealand Theology*, pp. 40-41. He generated a list of ten 'positives' describing 'the present situation'.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[40] Donald Battley, 'Charismatic Renewal—A View from Inside', *The Ecumenical Review*, No. 38, January 1986, p. 49. Battley's assessments were more scholarly than those of Harper who adopted a more apologetic and personal tone.

Habermas's 'legitimation theory'.[41] The conclusion that renewal provided a strong sense of belonging, personal spiritual security, and a primitivistic impulse accompanied by 'a lack of interest in wider society'[42] all became more evident as the economic and moral issues of that period continued.

A major study by Elaine Bolitho mapped the changes in Baptist and Methodist churches in the post-War era up to 1988.[43] This included the origins and evolution of charismatic activity in each denomination as well as case studies of selected churches, including, in the Christchurch area, Spreydon Baptist, Trinity Methodist Church in Rangiora, and Kaiapoi Baptist. The author relied heavily on empirical and quantitative data at the expense of conceptual and analytical concerns, but at over 600 pages in length this remains a comprehensive work.

Studies with a more specific focus on pentecostal developments in Christchurch have also appeared since 1977. A Canterbury political science thesis by Stuart Wallace investigated political attitudes of pentecostals and Brethren in the city;[44] a 1980 sociology thesis explored pentecostalism using the Christchurch Apostolic Church as a subject,[45] while a more recent study by Mandi Miller in 2000 focused on the emotional effects of music on religious experience.[46] These political, sociological and psychological studies both separately and together provide insights into pentecostal attitudes and phenomena, but the focus is pentecostalism and Christchurch settings provide a source of data only from which more general conclusions were drawn.[47]

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[41] Nola Ker, 'Religion and Society in Interaction in New Zealand', Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1984. The author attended an Anglican church which she called 'Tekia' for the purpose of the thesis.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 176. Ker adds on this point (p. 187); 'Respondents were unanimous that the Gospel could solve problems of society basically because problems were caused by people turning away from God. Personal salvation was seen by all as the necessary prerequisite'.

[43] Elaine Bolitho, 'In this World—Baptist and Methodist Churches in New Zealand 1948 to 1988', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Victoria University, 1992.

[44] Stuart Wallace, 'An Investigation of the Political Attitudes of Members of the Plymouth Brethren and Pentecostal Churches in Christchurch', Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1977.

[45] Anne Rayner, 'Social Characteristics of Pentecostalism—A Sociological Study of the Christchurch Apostolic Church', Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 1980.

[46] Mandi Miller, 'The Emotional Effects of Music on Religious Experience—A Study of the Pentecostal-Charismatic Style of Music and Worship', Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Canterbury, 2000. Although not directly stated, Miller based her study on observations of 'worship' times at City New Life Church (the former Revival Fellowship and New Life Centre), in Manchester Street.

Christchurch developments have also been covered in the more in-depth doctoral studies of pentecostal and charismatic phenomena. Bolitho's work has been mentioned, as has Knowles's. This latter thesis makes frequent reference to Christchurch including the growth of the local charismatic renewal, but these events are placed in the context of national developments within the New Life 'stream'.

One further study defies ready classification and is perhaps more of interest than scholarly importance. An undated booklet by Russell Kirkpatrick, *Christchurch—The City Called By His Name* is one of an alleged series of 'Advanced Bible Studies' training booklets.[48] Although furnished with statistical, demographic and historical data and references provided, this is essentially a pentecostal account of Christchurch's past and present seen through the lens of the 'prophetic'. The principal blockage to spiritual freedom in the city is identified as Jezebel, the spiritual power embodied in the heathen queen of King Ahab mentioned in the Old Testament in 1 Kings. The booklet concludes with a call to spiritual action: 'Christchurch has been promised to the Body of Christ. But can we take it?'[49] This cannot properly be viewed as an objective account, but the author's use of historical and other data to elicit a direct response from readers is unusual.

1.3. Aim and Scope of the Investigation

1.3.1. The Present Study

Charismatic renewal was not merely a set of abstract spiritual ideas—it found embodiment in the lives of believers and in their churches. The nature of renewal at any point in time and place is something of a vortex into which all sorts of elements have been tipped and manage to coalesce into meaningful expressions, which are malleable and subject to change.

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[47] Expressed another way, contextual variables unique to the city's past and the interface of these with religious change are properly the focus of an *historical* study.

[48] No further information is available, but this booklet would appear to be published in the early 1990s—a time when 'prayer walks' and 'doing spiritual warfare' were popular pentecostal activities.

[49] Russell Kirkpatrick, *Christchurch—The City Called By His Name,* p. 44.

These dynamics were first captured in the dialectical method of the eighteenth century German philosopher, George Hegel.[50] Hegel extended Imannuel Kant's reasoning of necessary truths presupposed by the natural sciences into the necessary truths of history. These too, he argued, followed necessary laws. He speaks of a developing whole through the medium of contradiction, or *dialectic.* The dialectic is a process of argument proceeding by triads; the thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The initial proposition (thesis) generates an opposite (antithesis), which in turn, is resolved into a synthesis ('Aufhebung' or 'sublation'). The triadic process is in perpetual motion.

It was Karl Marx and Frederick Engels however, who 'corrected' Hegel and grounded his theory in a *materialist* understanding of history—dialectical materialism. This combined the dialectics of Hegel with the materialism of Ludwig Feuerbach into a radical theory of struggle between opposing economic classes.

Although extrapolated from its origins in European philosophy, the dialectic is a useful tool for understanding charismatic renewal, particularly the interplay of wider and local variables. In this case enthusiasm was tempered by opposition—sometimes virulent—and, as efforts were made to ground renewal into parish life, beliefs and practices were modified to suit the immediate context. Despite this, tensions never entirely disappeared and the continual movement generated new issues and concerns. Renewal was a finely textured phenomenon and sensitive to both internal and external tensions.

While a number of studies have appeared on topics of pentecostal and charismatic interest, including Christchurch, there is room for a further study taking into account local and historical variables. Detailed historical accounts of these topics (as in the work of Gilling and Knowles) have had a focus broader than the renewal, while the masterate level and research essay investigations

[50] The dialectic comes from Hegel's major work on moral and political philosophy, *The Philosophy of Right.* Marx was critical of Hegel's idealism but applied the triadic process to material reality and history. In an important passage in *The German Ideology* (1845-46), Marx, in reference to Kant and Hegel, argued that; 'In direct contrast to German philosophy, which descends from heaven to earth, here we ascend from earth to heaven. ...We begin with real, active men, and from their real-life process show the development of the ideological reflexes and echoes of this life-process'. Tom Bottomore (Ed), *Karl Marx—Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961), p. 90.

have been sociological, psychological or anthropological in nature. Bolitho's study addressed charismatic issues within specific churches, including Spreydon Baptist, but the centre of attention remained two denominations and the relationship between activities in Christchurch and the national scene.

It is apparent that denominational foci, while both important and necessary in understanding charismatic renewal, cannot fully capture the importance of *inter-denominational co-operation* as a variable of growth and change. An investigation cognisant of this related to a spatially determined area where these elements are present and interacting, is a logical extension of existing studies. The present thesis is believed to be the first of its type in New Zealand at the doctoral level to explore the renewal by taking into account the dynamics of inter-denominational interaction within a specific historical and spatial context.

Part of the appeal of charismatic renewal was its embracing and promotion of a supra-denominational 'Spirit-led' Christian unity. The perception that this goal could be obtained gave the renewal in Christchurch a definite character. The felt sense of 'oneness' generated close networks and a high level of inter-denominational co-operation. In reaching across denominational boundaries this approach approximates the essence and appeal of the phenomenon itself.

The central argument is that from the mid-1960s through to the mid-1970s the dynamics of growth are evident in the Christchurch renewal to a greater degree than fragmentation, although the cohesion began to ebb in the late 1970s and into the 1980s. The thesis is a history of these developments; it seeks to explain what occurred in the city, and explore why there was such momentum and in due course, a relative waning of religious enthusiasm.

Moreover, the import of contemporary religious developments is easily overlooked or diminished in regional historical studies. In *A New History of Canterbury* in 1982, for example, author Stevan Eldred-Grigg, stated that, 'the most obvious fact about religion in Canterbury during the 1970s was that it

ceased to be important'.[51] Although this was immediately qualified with reference to declining membership and falling attendance statistics for the main Christian denominations at that time,[52] this is a generalisation which ignores the developments covered in this study. The expansion of pentecostal and charismatic activities in Christchurch is not mentioned in Eldred-Grigg's account, and only veiled and depreciatory reference is made to them as 'fundamentalist churches'.[53] A more recent book, *Southern Capital Christchurch*, is a comprehensive account of the city's development including the pre-European period, but contemporary religious developments do not feature.[54]

1.3.2. Parameters

The present study is not a history of all groups and churches affected by the renewal but an investigation of the defining motifs and contours of its evolution within a particular locale. It employs a qualitative methodology where boundaries are figuratively placed around the temporal and spatial domain of a region within a defined period. While the overall form, focus and emphasis of the study is qualitative, quantitative methods are not mutually exclusive; wide use was made of numeric data, particularly demographic and parish statistics, alongside the rational and intuitive elements in analysing change.

Although the writer has had considerable involvement in charismatic churches, like earlier scholarly appraisals, the present study is not an apologia for the renewal, nor is it a hermeneutical critique of how well those in Christchurch understood or accurately applied the Scriptures. That is the subject of a theological investigation. Neither is it a psycho-social examination of the personal spirituality of the persons affected, but instead a history of religious continuity and change.

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[51] *A New History of Canterbury* (Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1982), p. 209. Eldred-Grigg confused the well-documented trend towards declining attendance in the historic churches with the decline of religion *per se*. He does mention the appearance of new sects such as the Hare Krishna, but ignores pentecostal and charismatic developments and the ability of the Christian faith, like other major religions (Hare Krishna as a type of Hinduism, for example), to morph into new and populist expressions.

[52] *Ibid.*, see p. 211.

[53] *Loc. cit.*

[54] John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (Eds), *Southern Capital Christchurch—Towards a City Biography 1850-2000* (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000). The editors point out that efforts were made to secure a chapter on religious developments, but these did not materialise.

The years selected for investigation, 1960 to 1985, are not rigid boundaries in an historical sense. Prior and subsequent events are also important. Charismatic renewal is a complex phenomenon and its advent owed much to earlier and related religious developments. In Christchurch, the late 1950s, for example, were important years of ecumenical co-operation and evangelistic fervour. There was, however, a growing awareness amongst church leaders in the 1960s that teenagers and young people—those born after 1945—were vulnerable to the 'secular' spirit of the age. This resulted in intensified efforts to reach this constituency. The charismatic renewal became part of these efforts in the 1960s as well as offering a more invigorated form of belief to other believers as well.

The 1960s were critical for the advent and initial growth of the renewal, but the 1970s were years of continued expansion and consolidation. Accordingly, analysis of this period is decisive in linking the early years with subsequent developments in the late seventies and early eighties. By 1985 there was still much activity characterising the Christchurch renewal, but the unity of the previous decade had been lost. The 25-year span covered in this study places broad parameters but encompasses what is believed to be the period of greatest change.

Developments since then have also been considerable with the maturity of churches such as Hornby Presbyterian Community Church and St. Christopher's Avonhead. At the time of writing these are now exemplars of a mature evangelical-charismatic ethos within their respective traditions (Presbyterian and Anglican). In pentecostal circles too, new churches and music with a strongly Australian provenance have appeared, but these happenings are also rightly the topic of separate studies tracing developments in the 1990s.

The thesis is structured as follows: Chapters 2 and 3 locate charismatic renewal in its religious and historical context, with particular attention paid to renewal as an enthusiastic religious phenomenon (in simple terms; what it was and where it came from); Chapter 4 is a biographical and analytical account of Pastor Peter Morrow and his pivotal contribution to the Christchurch story.

Chapter 5 explores the wider city scene and attempts to answer how and why the renewal grew so rapidly and to such a level of ecumenical unity. Chapter 6 examines the 'grass roots' level of how three local churches responded to the renewal; among other insights, the story of Hornby Presbyterian illustrates the delay between the height of renewal and eventual adoption of a charismatic ethos and the important role in this played by a sympathetic and committed leadership; Opawa Baptist, just how confused and awkward renewal could prove to be, and Sydenham AOG; the effects of renewal on a traditional pentecostal church.

Chapter 7 considers the contribution overseas speakers, teachers and conferences made to the expansion of the Christchurch renewal, and Chapter 8 is an analysis of the variables affecting the loss of cohesion and ebbing momentum in the period up to 1985, as well as a reflection on the legacy of renewal.

1.3.3. Contribution

This study contributes to contemporary New Zealand religious history in at least four ways. Firstly, as mentioned, it is believed to be the first of its type to employ an inter-denominational methodology. The reason for this lies in first understanding the nature of renewal itself as a complex, multi-faceted phenomenon. When this is appreciated, it is expedient to prepare a study around this central and defining essence. Secondly, and this is a related point; this is believed to be the first *regional study* in New Zealand exploring the dynamics in and between various renewal leaders, churches and para-church groups.

Thirdly, it addresses some of the important topics and themes explored elsewhere, but in more detail. Previous studies for example, have rightfully acknowledged Peter Morrow's contribution to the growth of the New Life Churches in New Zealand as well as his role in the nascent charismatic renewal, but a fuller analysis is warranted, including the effect the renewal had on pentecostal constituencies—at its height the local renewal virtually dissolved the prejudices many in the historic churches harboured towards the work of Morrow and the Revival Fellowship. The renewal also profoundly affected the Sydenham

AOG. An investigation into these themes adds to the insights provided in earlier accounts.

A study of this nature (fourthly) adds to regional analyses which have tended to overlook or diminish the importance of contemporary religious developments. As will be argued in Chapter 8, the renewal in retrospect may not have exerted a wide civic influence, nor reversed national trends towards falling attendances in the mainline churches, but it profoundly affected individuals, parishes and entire denominations, and was not insignificant.

Summary

Of the various titles used to describe charismatic phenomena, 'charismatic renewal' is the preferred nomenclature. The renewal directly effected a wide range of Protestant churches as well as the Roman Catholic Church and para-church groups. In view of this wide impact, the methodology employed in this study does not exclude any group as 'invalid', with the exception of quasi-Christian sects. Even those individuals and the views of churches staunchly opposed to renewal were all part of dialectical understanding of the religious tapestry of the city, and their experiences have been included where appropriate. For the purpose of this study, 'Christchurch' includes surrounding areas and towns as developments there were part of and an extension of charismatic activity in the city.

A number of New Zealand studies probing aspects of charismatic belief and practice have emerged since the early 1970s. Some have focused specifically on charismatic phenomena, while others have touched on these in relation to wider pentecostal, evangelical, or fundamentalist themes. A review of this literature suggested there is room for a detailed historical study of charismatic renewal in Christchurch.

Chapter 2

'As at the Beginning'[1]
The Roots of Renewal

This chapter locates the charismatic renewal in its historical context and in the process explains important definitions and concepts used throughout the study. This lays a foundation for examining the phenomenon more closely.

Charismatics liked to claim a 'birthright' link with the dramatic spiritual encounters recorded in the New Testament, particularly the Book of Acts and Paul's epistles to the Corinthians. Rediscovering the way early Christians were 'empowered' by the Spirit—the primitivistic impulse—accounts for much of the excitement and teaching emphasis of the renewal, but in reality, charismatic belief and practice had origins in more recent Christian movements namely, evangelicalism, revivalism fundamentalism, and pentecostalism. The renewal inherited much from these traditions so an outline of their distinctive features is necessary.

The renewal also owed much to developments in western culture after 1945. While each of the populist traditions contributed in some way, there was a social context as well which contributed to the appeal of renewal. Believers 'empowered' with the Spirit invigorated the Christian message in troubled times. Like the earlier movements, this suggests the renewal was also a product of its time.[2] For all its significance as a motivating factor, primitivism tended to ignore, or at least, offer only a selective interpretation of the dynamism between religious enthusiasm and wider historical forces.

The chapter begins with the historical antecedents, moves to more immediate influences, and concludes with initial responses to the renewal in New Zealand.

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[1] This captures the way charismatics liked to view their faith by linking it to developments at the birth of the Church in the book of Acts. This was the title of a book by the early English charismatic Michael Harper in 1965.

[2] Paul Tillich made this important observation when he said 'religion is the substance of culture [and] culture is the form of religion'. *The Theology of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 42.

2.1. Historical Antecedents

2.1.1. Evangelicalism and Revivalism[3]

In his important work *Essentials of Evangelical Theology*, the systematic theologian Donald Bloesch begins with these comments:

> Of the various meanings associated with the term *evangelical*, the theological meaning is primary. *Evangelical* is derived from the Greek word *evangelion,* meaning message of salvation through the atoning sacrifice of Christ. It contains a missionary thrust because it is centered in the proclamation to the world of the good news of salvation. It also entails an appeal to conversion and decision on the basis of the free grace of God. In its historical meaning *evangelical* has come to refer to the kind of religion espoused by the protestant Reformation. It is also associated with the spiritual movements of purification subsequent to the Reformation— Pietism and Puritanism. The revival movements within Protestantism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have also been appropriately termed *evangelical.*[4]

The historical origins of 'evangelical' lie in the Reformation in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but as Bloesch points out, it has come to have a broad connotation through subsequent events and periods. The purpose of this section is to outline these developments.

The central figure of the Reformation, Martin Luther, was critical of Roman Catholic teachings concerning papal primacy and authority as well as the practice of selling indulgences or spiritual favours. The so-called 'Tower Experience' between 1512 and 1515 took the form of a sudden revelation which convinced him that faith alone (*sola fide*) justifies without works. One was put right with God through faith in Christ rather than observance of church sacraments or rituals. To this core belief he reasserted the primacy of Scripture and advocated the priesthood of all believers in contrast to the Roman claims for an exclusive priesthood of the ordained clergy. Luther was the first to employ the word 'evangelical' to describe believers who stressed justification by faith alone and who used the Bible as the final authority. This was again in contrast to

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[3] Although strictly separate, evangelicalism and revivalism are closely linked and for practical purposes are dealt with together here.

[4] Donald Bloesch, *Essentials of Evangelical Theology* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978, Vol. 1), p. 7.

the Roman ecclesiastical system which allowed a place for tradition and good works along with faith.

Gradually 'evangelical' came to denote a wider circle of Christians. The Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 and the *Corpus Evangelicorum* in 1653 officially recognised the Reformers as 'evangelicals'. In the case of this latter event at the Diet of Ratisbon, the defence of Protestant interests in the Holy Roman Empire by delegates from the evangelical states gave obvious substance to 'evangelical'. This usage was extended in 1817 when the union of Germany's Lutheran and Reformed Churches occurred and both groups were thereafter referred to as 'evangelical'. The term was then applied generically to a variety of Protestant groups throughout Europe irrespective of theological tradition.

It was in this sense too, that Calvinists were 'evangelical'. Despite the distinctive predestination teaching in Calvin's *Institutes* (1536), there was an acceptance of *sola fide*, the priesthood of all believers, and increasing importance placed on a conscious conversion in the election or salvation of an individual. This further expanded the Protestant lexicon by adding words to describe the action of being evangelical in bringing others to an understanding and acceptance of their election. 'Evangelise' and 'evangelisation' were activities describing an emphasis on the 'new birth' or conversion experience.

Important developments had also been occurring in England and America (New England). The need for conversion among the New England Puritans, for example, was felt strongly by some leaders, notably Jonathan Edwards in Northampton, Massachusetts in the 1730s. Edwards was aware that large numbers of church members—now three and four generations on from the Puritan forefathers—had not experienced conversion. A similar emphasis in the British Isles characterised the preaching of John Wesley following his conversion at Aldersgate in 1738. Wesley was encouraged to take up field preaching the following year by contemporary evangelist George Whitefield. The importance now placed on conversion strengthened this as the essence of evangelicalism, as did the later work of Charles Finney along with many others.

By the last quarter of the eighteenth century 'evangelicalism' had acquired the characteristics and methods of a unique religious movement. The mass conversions associated with Wesley, Edwards and others were called 'revivals' reflecting the deepening quality of spiritual life among those affected and the belief of the leaders that these were indeed, a sovereign 'move of God'. Edwards himself wrote *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England* in 1742, but as the conversion experience later came to shape Protestant piety so markedly including ritualised forms of worship, preaching and prayer, a distinctive hymnology, forms of leadership (lay and ordained), and both personal and public ethics, it became accurate to speak of 'revivalism' referring to the patterns of changed religious experience across *different* revivals.

Evangelicalism, revival and revivalism are then, a cluster of closely related terms with deep roots in Reformation thought and subsequent religious movements in Britain and America. George Marsden has listed 'essential' evangelical beliefs as: 1. The Reformation doctrine of the final authority of the Bible; 2. The historical character of God's saving work recorded in Scripture; 3. Salvation to eternal life based on the redemptive work of Christ; 4. The importance of evangelism and missions; and 5. the importance of a spiritually transformed life (or what Finney called 'entire consecration').[5] David Bebbington proposes a similar 'quadrilateral of priorities': a converted character (conversionism); activity in charity (activism or effort from a motive of gratitude); reading the Bible as the infallible 'Word of God' (biblicism), and maintaining the doctrine of the cross as the basis of salvation (crucicentrism).[6]

Coupled to these 'essentials', from at least the time of Finney, was a general optimism that the revived church would herald a sanctification of the saints, which writ large, would 'christianise' American society[7] and lay the basis for the return of Christ and the ultimate establishment of God's kingdom on earth. This

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[5] For more on these points see George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism & Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1991), pp. 4-5.

[6] David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain—A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), pp. 2-3.

[7] 'Finney believed that through the spread of Christianity the world itself was gradually working toward a state of perfectionism'. William McLoughlin (Junior). *Modern Revivalism—Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York: Ronald Press, 1959), p.105.

view of the second advent gave revivalism of the Finney era a particular angle on end times and the fulfilment of biblical prophecy.

The postmillennial position is an eschatological belief that the coming of Christ's kingdom represents the climax of the spiritual and moral progress already begun in this age.[8] This tied-in with a belief in technological progress and the transformation of America from a frontier culture into an urbanised and industrialised society.[9]

Evangelicalism was becoming characterised by regular methods of mission in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, particularly in Britain where neglected inner-city areas became places non-churchgoing masses were congregating. Philanthropy and education were not adjuncts to the gospel but a duty of responsible evangelicals. In this period however, personal holiness and 'the higher life' became the focus of the Keswick movement from 1875. This was an aspect of evangelicalism that would later prove significant in influencing the charismatic renewal. Bebbington explains that:

> The sound Reformation principle [holiness teachers] could point out, was that salvation is the gift of God to the person who trusts him. They were simply pressing the principle further by contending that the progress in the Christian life as well as its commencement can be had for the asking. God is as willing to give holiness as he is to confer salvation. The apostles of the new teaching were Robert and Hannah Pearsall Smith, an American couple who addressed gatherings 'for the promotion of scriptural holiness' at Oxford in 1874 and Brighton in 1875. In 1875 also there was held the first of the conventions at Keswick, in the Lake District, that were to become the focal point of the new spirituality.[10]

The post-conversion crisis that Wesley and his followers had called 'entire sanctification' or 'Christian perfection' provided a basis for the holiness teachings. Another name was the 'second blessing' which would later be employed by pentecostals and charismatics to denote Spirit baptism.

The context giving rise to the holiness movement, as Marsden notes, was modernity itself. Holiness he adds, 'may be understood as a mirror image of

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[8] Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, p. 39.
[9] The assumption that postmillennialism is necessarily optimistic has been challenged by recent scholarship.
[10] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain,* p. 151.

another modernist theme—the stress on morality'.[11] This radical separation from worldliness was an important precursor to pentecostalism because the work of the Spirit as a 'second blessing' to achieve this was earnestly sought.

While holiness became a new evangelical focus in Britain with Keswick, revivalism in America at the end of the nineteenth century became more formal through the methods of Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey. Well-organised visits, the use of music to build atmosphere and powerful, direct preaching were hallmarks of the so-called 'hot gospel'.[12] The closest New Zealanders at the turn of the century got to the new approach was a visit in September 1902 from Moody imitators, Reuben Torrey and Charles Alexander.[13] By that time however, a new variant of evangelicalism was emerging in response to the inroads of modernity and the threat of a secular society.

2.1.2. Fundamentalism

Fundamentalism refers to a movement among theologically conservative Protestant churches. It reached a height in the mid-1920s in America, but although it suffered subsequent decline in direct influence and public prominence after that decade, it neither disappeared nor lost ground. It can be considered a development of both evangelicalism and revivalism, but it also has its own historically identifiable characteristics.

Fundamentalism is frequently linked with the excesses of both pentecostalism and charismatic renewal—especially by critics—and although there is an obvious intersection of beliefs and practices shared by these variants, fundamentalists are more reactionary and defensive and the reasons for this relate to historical origins.

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[11] Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism,* p. 41.

[12] In regard to Moody and Sankey's style a writer in *The Congregationalist* in January 1874 eloquently noted that, '[The music] went over the great human field like a ploughshare, laying bare and open every sensibility to the next impression...Then came Mr Moody with seed for the open furrows'. Cited in Gilling, 'Old, Old Story', p. 58.

[13] Moody died in 1899 but Torrey and music leader Alexander were effective substitutes. The 1902 mission made extensive use of railway travel and displayed many of the organisational features later characterising the

In contrast to the halcyon years of revivalism during Finney's time with its belief in an optimistic postmillennialism, the impact of secular scholarship (which owed its existence to the eighteenth century Enlightenment and its rationality), increased greatly, particularly in America, after the publication of Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* in 1859. Other factors in the rise of secularism at the beginning of the twentieth century included the loss of influence of traditional revivalism and the liberalising effects of German biblical criticism.[14]

Darwin, a British naturalist, concluded from detailed observations of flora and fauna that types or 'species' could be classified according to a combination of their genetic and evolutionary history. Although himself a Briton, Darwin's theory of evolution had a more divisive impact in America than in his homeland. According to Marsden, centuries of tradition in Britain had modified or opposed the excesses of revivalism, while other factors such as the state church (the Church of England), the influence of university traditions and Non-conformity resulted in less of a tendency towards radicalism than in America, where 'the two key religious factors' of revivalism and Calvinism 'led to the wholesale adoption of anti-intellectual, biblically-oriented attitudes, concern to recreate the primitive models of the Early Church and the tendency towards a simple, dichotomous world view'.[15]

Darwinism constituted a direct challenge to traditional interpretations of the biblical account of creation, and equally significant, the debates about evolution coincided with changes in revivalism in the 1870s. Marsden describes these twin concerns and the origins of fundamentalism, the full impact of which would not be felt until the 1920s. He notes that:

> The uniquely disconcerting feature of the post Civil War era was that this staggering intellectual crisis [Darwinism] coincided exactly with a social crisis for Protestantism of equally gigantic proportions. American Protestantism had grown up in an era of villages and towns, and so its institutions were adjusted to such settings. In a city such support

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new evangelicalism. A detailed account of the Torrey-Alexander mission is provided in Gilling, *ibid.*, pp. 120-70.

[14] See n. 19.

[15] George Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 225. See also Gilling, 'Old, Old Story', pp. 21-22.

> disappeared...Further compounding the massiveness of the crisis was simply a basic secularisation of American culture.[16]

For some revivalism was a narrow dogma which alienated intellectuals. Others considered it inadequate in terms of social mission; the emphasis on 'saving souls', critical though it was, was atomistic and had a poor record of effecting wider social change or ameliorating injustice. This was of increasing importance as urbanisation, industrialisation and the growth of democracy advanced in the 1890s. This division was not felt until the late nineteenth century when these realities appeared in a 'Christianised' society.

The extent to which revivalism was consistent with the newly appreciated biblical concern to alter society and distribute its resources more equitably in favour of the poor and disadvantaged became an issue and a rallying point for the so-called 'social gospellers'.[17]

There was then, around the turn of the twentieth century, a coalescence of variables occurring that would result in fundamentalism. The influence of the social gospellers and the inroads of secularism and modernity created a new climate among leading evangelicals and revivalists. Darwinism, social Darwinism[18] and higher criticism[19] challenged revivalism, but urbanisation and a changing social order were further sources. In England, knowledge of what had occurred on the European continent in the wake of the French Revolution, led some nineteenth century Christians to believe they were living in 'the last days'. Evangelicals sought answers in biblical prophecies of end times. Leaders in this

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[16] Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, p. 13.

[17] The emergence of social gospel thought is linked with the Congregational Minister Washington Gladden (1836-1918). For Gladden, the piety of evangelicalism failed to meet the day-to-day needs of people or improve their material lot. Similar concerns surfaced in New Zealand in 1888 when the Dunedin Presbyterian minister Rutherford Waddell preached on the 'sin of cheapness' and the exploitation of 'sweated labour'.

[18] In England this was associated with the writings of Herbert Spencer (1820-1895). Essentially Spencer applied Darwinian theory to human populations. The belief in the 'survival of the fittest' bolstered imperial notions of supremacy and led to the eugenics movement. A New Zealand connection with this thinking was the establishment of the Plunket Society in May 1907.

[19] Higher criticism refers to the critical study of literary methods and sources used by authors, especially in relation to the books of the Bible. Gilling, 'Old, Old Story' (p. 16), explains the important link between German higher criticism and the onset of 'liberalism': 'An emphasis [mainly in nineteenth century Germany] on ethics over doctrine led to [a] concern with human action in the present, rather than more abstract theologising concerned with the purely transcendent...the term 'liberalism' in current Protestant usage has largely been generalised to apply to any theological system espousing an avowedly humanistic approach over a transcendentalist one'.

regard were Lewis Way, an Anglican, Edward Irving, a Presbyterian, and John Nelson Darby, founder of the Plymouth Brethren.[20]

In both countries awareness of a changing order brought an eschatological shift towards premillennialism. Whereas postmillennial formulations provided a motivation for revivalism based on a belief that endeavour would herald the Kingdom, premillennialism was more pessimistic in outlook, but no less of a motivation as 'the end was nigh'. There were several reasons for this important shift in eschatological emphasis: the impact of modernism and the very public doubts it raised about the coming Christian utopia; the aftermath of the Civil War (and later the Great War) undermined confidence in the unbridled 'onward and upward' march of progress, the emergence of class conflict, and most significantly, the growth of poverty which was a less desirable aspect of the industrial age increasingly affecting the urban masses.

Fundamentalism consolidated after the turn of the century with the organisation of the American Bible League in 1902 and the World's Christian Fundamentals Association in 1919. This latter organisation came into being following the publication of twelve pamphlets published between 1910 and 1915. Entitled *The Fundamentals—A Testimony to the Truth,* these were authored by leading evangelical churchmen and issued free of charge to 250,000 ministers and laymen. The five points of the movement were: 1. the verbal inerrancy of the Scriptures, 2. the deity and virgin birth of Christ, 3. the substitutionary atonement, 4. the physical resurrection of Christ, and 5. Christ's bodily return to earth.[21]

These were a recrudesence of the tenets of evangelicalism, but fundamentalism crystallised into a reactionary movement and became a rallying point for religious conservatives to oppose modernity. It affirmed the authority of Scripture as absolute, but jointly demanded its own credal and ethical dictates be publicly recognised and legally enforced.

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[20] Arguably the most zealous of these was Irving, whose feverish Adventism in Britain earned a reputation similar to that of William Miller in America.

At first fundamentalism's theology was that of conservative Protestantism, but during the 1920s it became more extreme and reactionary, particularly in relation to the so-called Scopes Monkey Trial of 1925. Charged with teaching evolution contrary to recently passed Tennessee law, high school teacher John Scopes was brought to trial by a committed Presbyterian fundamentalist and former presidential candidate, William Bryan. The outcome was in favour of the prosecution, but it was a pyrrhic victory because, as one writer put it, 'the Fundamentalists lost in the court of public opinion'.[22]

Critics perceived fundamentalism to be anti-intellectual, anti-progress and reductionistic. Adherents were defensive but believed their cause to be 'right'. It will be evident later in this study how real these threads of criticism were in relation to the charismatic renewal. For those opposed to it, the renewal raised the spectre of another wave of fundamentalism, while later fundamentalists were also quick to cite the renewal as yet another expression of heresy, along with other types of 'modernistic' Christianity.

2.1.3. Pentecostalism

The most direct and obvious antecedent of the charismatic renewal was pentecostalism. In essence, the renewal was a modified form of pentecostalism applied to the historic churches, the central difference being context; the former had its own history from the turn of the twentieth century, while the latter was a type of enthusiasm grafted into the historic Christian faith in its denominational expressions.

The Revival in Topeka, Kansas, from 1901 to 1903 marked the birth of the modern pentecostal movement. Unlike other revivals up to that time, the manifestation of *glossolalia* amongst a small number of students at the Bethel Bible School consolidated the unique theological tenet—the *sine qua non* of pentecostalism—that tongues speech provided the initial evidence of the 'Baptism of the Holy Spirit'.

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[21] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 325. Of interest from a New Zealand perspective is that one of the editors of these booklets was R. A. Torrey who had visited in September 1902.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 326.

The leader of the Topeka Revival was Charles Fox Par-ham (1873-1929).[23] Despite a sickly and difficult childhood, Par-ham was converted and became active in Congregationalism. A severe attack of rheumatic fever in 1891 affirmed a belief in divine healing and eventually he assumed the leadership of a Methodist pastorate, married, and founded the Bethel Healing Home in Topeka. Par-ham was impressed by the holiness movement's belief in a 'Latter Rain'[24] outpouring of the Holy Spirit and began to teach in anticipation of this. On 1 January 1901, one of the students at Bethel 'experienced the blessing and sign' of tongues and the movement soon spread gaining several thousand converts. The attendance of the black holiness evangelist William Seymour at a later school in Houston was significant as it was Seymour who took the movement to Los Angeles where the next great 'outpouring' occurred at the Azusa Street Bible School from 1906 to 1913. This provided a base for the world-wide expansion of pentecostalism, although Seymour gained a strong constituency among negro people.

As founder of the movement, Par-ham was responsible for a number of defining doctrines and practices of modern pentecostalism. His contributions included:

> ...the crucial definition of tongues as initial evidence and the particularly acute level of "latter rain" millennarianism. Tongues as evidence provided Pentecostals with an identity significantly different from that of the Holiness movement by making Holy Spirit baptism a demonstrable experience. The missionary emphasis engendered by the perceived millenarian function of xenolalic tongues, despite the fading of that dream after 1908, played a crucial role in the growth of Pentecostalism around the world.[25]

Pentecostals disagreed with the Adventist and dispensational teaching concerning the cessation of demonstrative sign gifts, but many considered themselves 'fundamentalists'. They embraced the premillennial rapture of the Church but linked it with the restoration of the *charismata*—tongues and healing were sure signs of the end of the age.

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[23] The biographical data on Par-ham and the Topeka Revival is from *ibid.*, pp. 660-61, and pp. 850-52.
[24] See 4.1.2, pp. 99-101.
[25] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 661.

The definitive split between pentecostals and fundamentalists occurred in 1928 when the World's Christian Fundamentals Association (WCFA) declared that:

> Whereas the present wave of Modern Pentecostalism often referred to as the "tongues movement", and the present wave of fanatical and unscriptural healing which is sweeping over the country today, has become a menace in many churches and a real injury to sane testimony of Fundamental Christians,
>
> Be it resolved, that this convention go on record as unreservedly opposed to Modern Pentecostalism, including the speaking in unknown tongues, and the fanatical healing known as general healing in the atonement, and the perpetuation of the miraculous sign-healing of Jesus and His Apostles, wherein they lay claim the only reason the church cannot perform these miracles is because of unbelief.[26]

This clear demarcation made it inaccurate to label pentecostals 'fundamentalists'. This amounted to a schism within fundamentalism as to who could rightly use the name. More importantly, the dispensational scheme adopted by most fundamentalists left no place for a pentecostal Latter Rain teaching that called for a restoration of signs and wonders before the end of the age and the Second Coming of Christ. Accordingly, the WCFA rejected pentecostals.

Pentecostalism recaptured the thrust of the revivalists by emphasising the 'sign gifts' as an unassailable authentication of Christianity. In terms of cultural efficacy and historical context the development of pentecostalism was timely; it brought a fresh impetus to the teachings of revivalism while at the same time repackaged its appeal for the new century.

By the Great War in 1914 the main tenets of pentecostalism were established. Owing its heritage to a revivalism which placed exclusive emphasis on a conversionist soteriology coupled now with a distinctive premillennial and dispensational world view (the call to be the Latter Rain of Joel's 'army' freely operating in the gifts)[27] gave early twentieth century pentecostalism its own constituency and niche. Although a multitude of churches and 'streams'[28]

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[26] Cited in Burgess et al., *Dictionary,* p. 326.

[27] The key passages in the book of Joel are in Chapter 2. See also 4.1.2, p. 99.

[28] Three 'streams' had emerged in America by 1920; the Holiness Pentecostals who stressed the second blessing sanctification experience; the Baptistic Pentecostals, who taught a finished work theology denying the necessity

subsequently emerged, the basic teachings from the early twentieth century provided the basis for the charismatic tradition some sixty years later.[29]

2.2. Immediate Precursors

2.2.1. The New Evangelicalism

There was a movement amongst evangelicals in America in the early 1940s to shed the image of reactionary fundamentalism and counter the growing influence of liberalism. Another motivation was the resurgence in 1941 of a new coalition of fundamentalists, the American Council of Christian Churches led by Carl McIntire. A prime mover in the effort to counter the re-grouped fundamentalists was Carl Henry of Wheaton College, of whom it was said; 'he ha[d] tremendous insight into the application of the gospel to the social problems of the day and...awareness of the weaknesses of fundamentalism along with a keen insight into the problems of neo-orthodoxy, liberalism and conservative Christianity'.[30]

Henry was among the leaders who created a new evangelical coalition in the 1940s. While retaining fundamentalist beliefs, there was a deliberate attempt to shed the negativity associated with hard-line fundamentalism. The most recognisable face of the new movement became Billy Graham, the former YFC evangelist. By 1948 Graham had begun crusades that soon made him the outstanding evangelist of his generation. He established a pattern for mass evangelism which embraced principles markedly different from the fundamentalism of the 1920s.

Graham focused on preaching, including a twin emphasis on the timeless quality of the Gospel as well as its relevance for the contemporary world. He also

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of the second blessing; and the Oneness Pentecostals, who denied the doctrine of the trinity but emphasised a Unitarianism in Christ.

[29] Inevitably there were points of difference. Early Pentecostals, for example, practised 'tarrying' or 'waiting on the Spirit' for the gifts to manifest. This is in contrast to the more recent practice prevalent in both modern pentecostalism and the charismatic renewal of laying on of hands to receive the gifts.

[30] Billy Graham, *Just As I Am—The Autobiography of Billy Graham* (New York: HarperPaperbacks [sic], 1997), p. 340.

worked for broad church involvement.[31] The fundamentalist position advanced so forcefully by McIntire, Bob Jones and others helped provide substance to the 'new evangelicalism'. It was what fundamentalism wasn't—irenic, inclusive and focused on the 'higher' call to transcend sectarian divisions.

This was revivalism in and for a new age. Even at his height, Finney, for example, could never have reached as many people as Graham and others in the new genre have been able to do with the aid of radio, land-lines, television, and more recently, with video, satellite and computer technology. Graham engaged the Cold War world seeking what unified rather than divided. The key distinction between earlier and later expressions of evangelicalism was one of mood and emphasis rather than doctrine.

The desire for unity, however did not openly extend to pentecostals. The climax of the new evangelicalism as personified in the crusades was 'decisions for Christ'; that is, personal conversion. Pentecostalism embraced conversion but went much further into healing and tongues. Graham's *modus operandi* excluded pentecostal influence because it was seen as undermining a baseline of evangelical unity, not because he necessarily considered it objectionable.[32] In 1961 Graham shared his view on this when he said:

> In the main denominations we have looked a bit askance at our brethren from the Pentecostal churches because of their emphasis on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, but I believe the time has come to give the Holy Spirit His rightful place in our churches. We need to learn once again what it means to be Baptized with the Holy Spirit.[33]

The intersection of the evangelical concern for conversion with that in pentecostalism for healing—the 'healing evangelists'—was at this time unformed in New Zealand, although developments in the Full Gospel Indigenous stream of pentecostals in the early 1960s forged the link which had previously been

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[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

[32] Pentecostals were excluded from the organisation and follow-up counselling of the 1959 New Zealand crusade. Moreover, 'sect-like' churches; some Baptists, Brethren, and the Dutch Reformed 'mostly stood in the Anabaptist tradition of criticism of, and withdrawal and separation from those who did not agree thoroughly with their own theological views'. Gilling, 'Old, Old Story', p. 254.

[33] From a message to the Sacramento ministerium, as reported in the January 1961 issue of the *Full Gospel Men's Voice,* and cited here in John Sherrill's book *They Speak With Other Tongues* (Kent: Hodder and Stoughton, 1964), p. 69. This view however, appears to be more tolerant than condoning and falls short of open endorsement or advocacy.

sporadic and confined to the visits of people like Smith Wigglesworth in the 1920s and A. H. Dallimore during the Depression.[34]

The new evangelicalism was both part of and a consequence of the wider development in the post-war era towards the unity movement in the world church. The WCC was formed in Amsterdam 1948, but there had been efforts a decade before to achieve that goal. Although embracing a broad spectrum of theological positions, it shared with the new evangelicalism a desire for unity rather than sectarian division.

2.2.2. Post-1945 Pentecostalism

As in the early years of the twentieth century, it was in the United States that a resurgent and populist form of pentecostalism emerged in the years after World War II.

America's pre-eminent healing evangelist in the years following the war was Oral Roberts. The son of a holiness pentecostal preacher, Roberts was born in Oklahoma in 1918 (the same year as Graham) and reared in abject poverty. He contracted tuberculosis at age seventeen but in 1935 was healed of both that condition and stuttering. In 1947 Roberts launched his own healing ministry and published *If You Need Healing Do These Things*. The preface to the 1955 edition was written by O. E. Sproull. He began by claiming 'Oral Roberts is the most powerfully anointed preachers of all time',[35] and went on to describe the ambience at the two-and-a-half hour meetings which captures the dynamic appeal of the healing evangelists:

> With a keen sense of discernment the Spirit enables him [Roberts] to detect the presence of demons, to ascertain their number and names. It is amazing to see the people set free from demon spirits. Their faces shine, their eyes sparkle and frequently their entire body is visibly shaken. Sometimes while the demons are being cast out by the Power of faith in God, the demons throw the captives onto the floor where they lie apparently lifeless until God's servant reaches down, saying, "Rise in the Name of the Lord and be made whole." They spring to their feet with new

[34] The Ratana Church among Maori also practised healing but this was along more traditional lines than that promoted by pentecostal healing evangelists.
[35] Oral Roberts, *If You Need Healing Do These Things* (Tulsa, Oklahoma: Healing Waters, 1955), O. E. Sproull, 'I Present Oral Roberts', p. v.

> life and joy. The entire audience is powerfully moved for it is evident to all that the miraculous has taken place before their very eyes.[36]

According to Sproull, Roberts

> ...works only in harmony and cooperation with recognized Full Gospel Churches and goes only to those areas where he is invited by reputable ministerial groups. He is a member of one of the leading Full Gospel Churches and preaches without compromise salvation by the shed blood of Christ, Bible Holiness, the Holy Ghost and fire, the gifts of the Spirit, the soon coming Christ, evangelism and the entire Word of God.
>
> He believes we are near the end of time and that the world is now being visited with its greatest and last revival. He has heard the audible voice of God telling him what he must do, what he is to preach and that he is raised up to bring Bible Deliverance to his generation. We who stand by his side believe he is God's man for this hour, humble, mightily anointed, scripturally sound. Multiplied thousands are being transformed by God's power through his ministry. Wherever he goes preaching the great message of deliverance a revival breaks out and sweeps thousands, yea, tens of thousands into the kingdom of God.[37]

Despite the hyperbole, the distinctive emphases of a revamped, mass appeal type of pentecostalism are evident. The healing evangelists had a long history extending back to the Azusa Street period, and many exponents, notably John G. Lake, F. F. Bosworth, Maria Woodworth-Etter and Aimee Semple McPherson, but what *was* novel was the appeal of this genre of pentecostalism in a new age and an American culture increasingly attuned to Cold War fears and the search for security.

Another central figure was William Branham who has been credited as the 'initiator of the post-World War II healing revival'.[38] A native of Kentucky, he was also born into poverty but later used this fact and his lack of formal education to gain rapport with mass audiences. Branham embraced pentecostal unitarianism but broadened its appeal by emphasising healing and prosperity. As a mystic and 'oneness' teacher,[39] however, he attracted controversy particularly in the later stages of his ministry. With the same sentimental tone employed by Sproull, a book written by manager Gordon Lindsay describes a meeting at the zenith of Branham's success:

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[36] Roberts, *If You Need Healing,* p. vi.
[37] *Ibid.*, pp. viii-ix.
[38] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 95.
[39] See n. 28.

> One cannot attend the Branham meetings without a sense of feeling what it must have been like living in the days of the Apostles. Words fail to describe the sudden burst of ecstasy and inexpressible awe that grips people who for their first time experience the power of God to heal and perform miracles. What words can describe the experience of witnessing blind eyes being opened, deaf ears unstopped, the dumb speaking their first words, the cripples walking, crossed eyes straightened, and many other glorious sights? The sweet, unassuming and lovable character of Brother Branham so vividly portrays the spirit of Christ that dominates his life.[40]

The veneration aside, other, more objective assessments confirm that Branham was of monumental importance in the post-war resurgence of interest in healing evangelism: 'The power of a Branham service [one writer notes] remains a legend unparalleled in the history of the charismatic movement',[41] while noted pentecostal theologian Walter Hollenweger (who interpreted for Branham in Zürich) said he was 'not aware of any case in which he was mistaken in the often detailed statements he made'.[42]

The claims and activities of Roberts and Branham (to name but two pentecostal healing evangelists) up-staged the relatively moderate approach of the new evangelicalism, but the emphasis on conversion remained, although it was not considered a necessary precondition for receiving healing or deliverance. Whereas the focus in Graham's ministry was the point of 'decision', this was subsumed in later pentecostalism into the more typical emphasis on healing. The significant point however, is that the two broad movements mutually reinforced each other in creating a new populist awareness and interest in the Christian faith. Graham alone made a significant impact, but so too did Roberts and Branham. One commentator, for example, has described Branham's campaigns as 'a spiritual explosion' and highly significant in the birth of the charismatic renewal:

> The sudden appearance of his miraculous healing campaigns in 1946 set off a spiritual explosion in the Pentecostal movement which was to move to Main Street, U.S.A., by the 1950s and give birth to the broader charismatic movement in the 1960s, ...

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[40] Gordon Lindsay (with William Branham), *William Branham—A Man Sent From God* (Indiana, Jeffersonville: William Branham Publishing, n.d., circa 1955), p. 142.
[41] Burgess et al., p. 95.
[42] Hollenweger, *ibid.*

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> The great healing crusades that Branham initiated in 1946 revitalized the American Pentecostal movement and popularized the doctrine of divine healing in America as never before. When the healing revival attracted hundreds of thousands of Americans from all denominational and cultural backgrounds, the charismatic movement was born.[43]

The new evangelicalism and pentecostalism reinvigorated the church in the West and together enhanced the mass appeal of the Christian message, albeit with different emphases. One further development however, which also worked as a catalyst to renewed mission and outreach activity was the impact of the so-called 'new theology', which had a similar effect on theologically conservative churches as the challenge of modernity had had in the late nineteenth century. The response then included concerted efforts to shore-up the fundamentals of the faith and provide a bulwark against error; the response in the 1960s would be to counter the false teaching with increased evangelical activity, piety and prayer, and it was within this context that a new expression of spirituality would emerge which would later be known as the charismatic renewal.

2.2.3. The New Theology and Vatican II [44]

The new or liberal theology that surfaced in the 1960s was a challenge to traditional beliefs but paradoxically it also served to strengthen the evangelical position, and in doing so, augured well for the parallel emergence of the charismatic renewal.

The so-called 'new theology' was seen by evangelicals as further evidence of spiritual entropy, which within a premillennial interpretation, provided a challenge for renewed effort and activity. As Bebbington notes of the situation in Britain; 'conservative evangelicals were more prepared to denounce what they saw as departures from orthodoxy'.[45]

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[43] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 372.
[44] No necessary connection is being implied between these two important developments. Historically they were coincidental and the juxtaposition here is for convenience only.
[45] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain,* p. 255.

The contemporary American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr wrote of the tensions being felt between 'the religious and the secular' in the late twentieth century. He correctly located their origins in earlier developments:

> The coexistence of the "godly" and the "godless" of traditional piety and modern secularism has been a characteristic of Western civilization since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The rise of modern science created a rift in a traditionally Christian civilization and generated a "secular" spirit, which was denounced by the pious as heresy and which was welcomed by the "enlightened" as the harbinger of a promising future for mankind, as the guarantor of every private virtue and public justice. ...For here we are in the twentieth century, at once the most religious and the most secular of Western nations.[46]

The new theology offered a response more accommodating of modernity than traditional interpretations, including, in the latter category, Niebuhr who defended original sin and other central doctrines. Its proponents emphasised human freedom and progress with various shades of meaning in both an existential and theological context, and generally favoured an anti-dogmatic and humanitarian reconstruction of the Christian faith in an age facing the prospect of nuclear annihilation.

For fundamentalists and contemporary evangelicals, in particular, the new theology posed a threat to historic doctrines and teachings and was tantamount to atheism, denying, as many advocates did, traditional doctrines such as sin, the divinity of Christ, the Second Advent, judgement and heaven and hell.

The new ideas were popularised by a number of authors including Harvey Cox and John Robinson. Robinson, the Anglican Bishop of Woolwich first aired his views in the landmark book *Honest to God* in 1963. This was followed two years later by *The New Reformation?* In this, he reduced traditional belief to the status of an out-dated, and 'medieval' world view, and through a series of rhetorical questions argued for a 'secular reinterpretation':

> Is a 'secular' reinterpretation of the Gospel possible which would permit man today to be a Christian without forcing him to feel that in order to do so he must go back upon the age to which he belongs and embrace the

[46] Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Godly and the Ungodly—Essays on the Religious and Secular Dimensions of Modern Life* (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), p. 1.

> equivalent of a 'medieval' world-view? In other words, 'Can a truly contemporary person be a Christian?'[47]

These and similar views were strongly deprecated by evangelicals who saw in the new theology a humanism undermining the historic faith and blinkered to the spiritual nature of the kingdom.[48] It also lacked the eschatological or future dimension which was the basis of a believer's hope.

The new theology and the rise of the charismatic renewal, although based on very different presuppositions, represent alternative religious responses to cultural tensions affecting the historic churches. The renewal, or known more accurately at the juncture of the early 1960s as 'neo-pentecostalism', promised individual spiritual empowerment, while the new theology embraced cultural change and the tenets of modernism—both, however, were attempts to revitalise the Christian message.

The impact of the new theology on the Roman Catholic Church was overshadowed by the Vatican II reforms of 1962-65.[49] This was the first major revision in the doctrine and life of the church since the First Council in 1869-1870 although modernity had been strenuously resisted by pre-Vatican II rulings. The sixties reforms were as wide-ranging as the outcomes of Trent in 1545-1563 which embodied the ideals of the Counter-Reformation.

Pope John XXIII (1958-1963) hoped the Council would 'be a new Pentecost and a means of spiritual renewal; [and that it would] restore the Church's energies for the apostolate and search for the forms best adapted to its present day needs'.[50] This forward-looking approach pervaded the documents of Vatican II and there was a genuine desire for rapprochement with both the Eastern Orthodox and various Protestant traditions in the West. The splits of 1054 and the Reformation—although referred to metaphorically and rather euphemistically as 'the two main kinds of rending which have damaged the seamless robe of

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[47] John A. T. Robinson, *The New Reformation?* (London: SCM Press, 1965), p. 52.
[48] James Packer, for example, rather uncharitably, referred to Robinson's ideas as 'a plateful of mashed-up Tillich, fried in Bultmann and garnished with Bonhoeffer'. Cited in Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 255.
[49] The Second Vatican Council met in four sessions from 11 October 1962 to 8 December 1965.
[50] *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1967, Vol. XIV), p. 563.

Christ'[51]—were given special attention in the deliberations on Ecumenism which concluded with the following pleas:

> ...This most sacred Synod urges the faithful to abstain from any superficiality or imprudent zeal, for these can cause harm to true progress towards unity. Their ecumenical activity must not be other than fully and sincerely Catholic, that is, loyal to the truth we have received from the Apostles and the Fathers, and in harmony with the faith which the Catholic Church has always professed, and at the same time tending toward that fullness with which our Lord wants His body to be endowed in the course of time.
>
> This most sacred Synod urgently desires that the initiatives of the sons of the Catholic Church, joined with those of the separated brethren, go forward without obstructing the ways of divine Providence and without prejudicing the future inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Further, this Synod declares its realization that the holy task of reconciling all Christians in the unity and one and only Church of Christ transcends human energies and abilities. It therefore places its hope entirely in the prayer of Christ for the Church, in the love of the Father for us, and in the power of the Holy Spirit. ...[52]

The authors could scarcely appreciate just how fully these goals would soon be realised in the Catholic Charismatic Renewal, a movement that began shortly after in March 1967 at Duquesne University among a Pittsburgh foundation of the Holy Ghost Fathers.[53] The Catholic Charismatic Renewal was a likely beneficiary of the wider climate of change created by the Council; given that modernity had created problems for the church, an acceptance of renewal under other conditions might have proved difficult. In the event, the Catholic Charismatic Renewal became a world-wide movement in its own right. A number of its leaders proved adept at grafting it into institutional frameworks, for example, the centuries old monastic orders and community traditions, and for providing it with a reasonably rigorous theology.[54] Against these significant internal changes, the new theology was of secondary concern.

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[51] Walter M. Abbott (Ed), *The Documents of Vatican II—All Sixteen Official Texts Promulgated By The Ecumenical Council, 1963-1965* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), p. 355.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 365-66.

[53] See René Laurentin (Matthew O' Connell, Translator), *Catholic Pentecostalism* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1977), Chapter 1, 'The Birth of Catholic Pentecostalism', p. 11.

[54] These leaders included John Bertolucci, the New York-ordained Catholic charismatic evangelist and preacher; Michael Scanlan, a lawyer and priest who as dean, transformed the College of Steubenville in Ohio into a thriving university with a strong orthodox and charismatic ethos; and Ralph Martin, the prominent lay leader in the Catholic Charismatic Renewal. Martin was a key figure in the Word of God Community (Ann Arbor) and the first editor of *New Covenant* magazine (1971-75). See Burgess, et al., *Dictionary,* pages 55-56; 583-84, and 768.

2.3. The Coming of Charismatic Renewal to New Zealand

2.3.1. The 1959 Billy Graham Crusade [55]

The charismatic renewal owed much to the success of the Billy Graham crusade in April 1959 when the new evangelicalism arrived in New Zealand as a *tour de force*.[56] This much anticipated event[57] was arranged under the auspices of the NCC and drew together churches and para-church groups across the nation as meetings in the three main cities were linked by land-line to 'some sixty centres from Kaitaia to Invercargill, [and] from Gisborne to Hokitika'.[58]

Graham was unavailable when first approached in 1955 but a further request from constituent denominations of the NCC in 1957 asked for a renewed invitation. In line with the policy of the BGEA,[59] a crusade would only be conducted where wide support of the churches was pledged because, 'Graham wanted to emphasise points of commonality held by all Christian groups rather than begin negatively, highlighting differences and thus discouraging disunity'.[60]

Organisational aspects were carefully attended to and co-ordinated, including Associates' meetings, transport, land-line relays, advertising, venues for meetings, the selection and training of counsellors, lighting, stage construction, emergency precautions and financial details. The committees and sub-committees worked to a plan issued by the BGEA:

> [this]...provided each committee with a complete packet of instructions which contained in detail the organisation and duties of the Committee and each sub-committee. Thus each Crusade in New Zealand was virtually

[55] A more detailed consideration of the crusade and its subsequent effect on Christchurch churches is provided in 5.1.2, pp. 138-40.
[56] Graham arrived at Whenuapai airport on the evening of Thursday, 2 April 1959. His first meeting in Auckland was the next day at Carlaw Park, followed by Sunday, 5 April at Athletic Park in Wellington, and Tuesday and Wednesday the following week (7 and 8 April) at Lancaster Park in Christchurch. There were however, a large number of support meetings in these cities (with associate evangelists) as well as around the nation, in addition to the land-line broadcasts.
[57] As mentioned, the crusade was in fact, three main and several supporting events. It could be referred to in the plural ('crusades') but is generically referred to here as the 'crusade' (singular).
[58] Warner Hutchinson and Cliff Wilson, *Let The People Rejoice* (Wellington: Crusader Bookroom, 1959), p. 21.
[59] The BGEA was formed in 1950 in response to the emerging world-wide ministry, see Gilling, 'Old, Old Story', p. 259.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 245.

> identical, each following the same very concise and detailed plan that had been supplied to them.[61]

This demonstrates the scale and detail of the crusade which the same writer felt had produced a result which 'piloted New Zealand through her profoundest religious hour since the first missionary set foot on the North Island.'[62] In terms of numbers affected, there was validity to this claim: the combined attendance, (excluding 'enquirers') at the Auckland meeting was 237,300; in Wellington, 117,000, and in Christchurch, 220,000. Of this total (574,000) there were 17,493 recorded 'decisions for Christ'.[63]

Equally significant was the message of the mission. The Cold War was, according to Gilling, 'a potent source of anxiety',[64] as were the inroads made by liberal Christianity. Despite a largely positive tone emphasising 'decisions', fundamentalist threads pervaded the preaching:

> The fundamentalist antipathy to intellectual grappling with the mysteries of the Christian faith was clearly still part of Graham's worldview. ...
>
> the implication was that intellectuals who made Christianity so complicated were like Pharisees...[there was also an] Arminian view of the individual's conscious, deliberate, self-controlled choice to accept Christ...[65]

Graham's insistence on 'the Bible says' suggested the Scriptures were self-interpreting, but there was no exegetical grappling with the biblical text. This would not only be difficult given the dynamics of such large meetings, but was not deemed necessary in leading up to 'the moment of decision'—this was the focus.

The pietistic emphasis was later developed within the renewal where holiness teachings provided a basis for the Catholic-inspired Life in the Spirit seminars. The renewal also extended the inter-denominational co-operation that had been such a feature of the Graham crusade. Gilling concludes:

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[61] Hutchinson and Wilson, *Let The People Rejoice*, p. 21.
[62] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[63] Hutchinson and Wilson, *Let The People Rejoice*, 'Statistical Summary', Appendix C, p. 142.
[64] Gilling, 'Old, Old Story', p. 268.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

> In his cooperative evangelism he [Graham] encapsulated the evangelical ethos as envisioned by the movement—the theological foundation of Christ's substitutionary atonement to be appropriated by sinners, the pietistic stress on the on-going/higher/deeper/victorious Christian life to be enjoyed by believers, and the evangelistic outreach to the community which would enlarge numerically the group of truly dedicated Christians. Just as they had set aside critical or doctrinally-oriented theological reflection in favour of maintaining the unity in Christ Jesus, so too Graham's crusade reinforced this attitude by accepting all Protestant groups who were prepared to suppress their confessional variances for greater unity.[66]

It is evident here the extent to which the new evangelicalism owed a debt to traditional evangelicalism, the holiness movement, revivalism, and fundamentalism. And in turn, the charismatic renewal drew upon this lineage as well as the pentecostal traditions but it had a wider and more sustained impact than one-off crusades in uniting churches, including Roman Catholics. While Graham personally experienced a good rapport with Catholic leaders[67] the thrust of his message had deep roots in Protestant theology and practices honed within the populist traditions, especially revivalism.

The fervour of the crusade persisted into the 1960s. The methods and message were replicated writ small at youth rallies throughout New Zealand and effectively created a new praxis of evangelism.[68] It became apparent however, that the momentum of these events could not be sustained indefinitely, and traditional outreach to youth, even though it had been buoyed by the crusade, faced new challenges as the 1960s unfolded, including the scepticism of the new theology, an emerging youth counter-culture, and the bold claims and demonstrative style offered by pentecostals and those involved in the charismatic renewal.

The crusade left the historic churches exhibiting more self-confidence and energy towards their central tasks of evangelism, stewardship and church growth. In these aspects, it mirrored the expansionist mood of wider New

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[66] Gilling, 'Old, Old Story', p. 295.

[67] Graham adds, 'I suspect many Catholics knew of my friendship with various Catholic leaders. Cardinal Cushing of Boston had been particularly friendly to me. He wryly told the press after our meeting several years before that if he had half a dozen Billy Grahams, he would not worry about the future of his church!', *Just As I Am*, p. 356.

Zealand society, but as subsequent fortunes would prove, the 1960s were difficult years for most denominational churches in New Zealand. The decade was characterised by declining membership and attendance statistics, theological controversy, and in the Presbyterian Church, a heresy trial.[69]

Most importantly, the 'innate dynamism [of the crusade] helped [to] modify and reorient New Zealand Evangelicalism towards a less institutional, more extrovert style'.[70] Both pentecostalism and the charismatic renewal were benefactors of this development but the crusade had also strengthened and unified the participating churches in their evangelical endeavours. By the mid-1960s however, the renewal had arrived and was able to extend the appeal of the Graham style, even though the memory of the great evangelist did not wane and a return visit to New Zealand occurred in 1969.[71]

2.3.2. The Emergence of Pentecostalism in New Zealand

Formal pentecostal influence in New Zealand extends back to the 1920s, although preaching and activity fitting the later description 'pentecostal' can be identified at least as far back as the Torrey-Alexander mission of September 1902.[72] The English evangelist Smith Wigglesworth visited Wellington and Christchurch in May and June 1922 and in the wake of these meetings, some of which attracted controversy,[73] there was a desire in Wellington for a committee to continue the work by co-ordinating prayer meetings. This became known as the 'Wellington City Mission'.

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[68] The *Challenge* for example, (the only non-sectarian national Christian weekly in New Zealand at this time) continued to devote considerable space to Graham's meetings, teaching and devotional thoughts as well as report on rallies and other evangelical initiatives.

[69] This refers to the trial of Lloyd Geering in 1967, see 6.1. for a discussion of this in relation to Hornby Presbyterian Church.

[70] Knowles, 'Some Aspects', p. 61.

[71] The later crusade was a smaller-scale affair and lacking the excitement of 1959. 'Graham's moralism [Gilling concludes] was no longer in step with nominal social ideals, and evangelical theology was no longer the consensus position of New Zealand Christians'. 'Old, Old Story', p. 327.

[72] The Presbyterian paper *The Outlook* on 4 October 1902, for example, recorded at a Dunedin meeting that, 'Dr Torrey discoursed on the Baptism of the Spirit in a manner powerful and convincing. He said it was not enough to have been baptised once or twice. We read of Peter on three occasions that he was filled with the Holy Ghost...We needed to be filled anew for every individual emergency of the Christian service', p. 8.

[73] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements,* Chapter 14, 'Crusades and Controversy', pp. 115-26. See also Ireton, 'A Time to Heal', 1984.

Wigglesworth's return visit in late 1923 coincided with the formation of the 'New Zealand Evangelical Mission' whose Christmas Convention that year in Wellington became:

> [T]he first convention of any size to be held in New Zealand to foster the Pentecostal testimony on a national basis. ...
>
> many conversions and healings took place and not a few were baptised in the Holy Spirit with the sign of glossolalia.[74]

The later 1920s saw more visiting revivalists than any previous period and a number of new pentecostal groups emerged as a result, including the Apostolic Church in 1925,[75] the Assembly of God (AOG) in 1927,[76] the Revival Fire Mission (following the mission of A. H. Dallimore from 1927),[77] and the establishment of an overarching body, the 'Pentecostal Church' in September 1925.[78] As with other churches, the Depression of the early 1930s and World War II at the end of the decade affected the ministry and activities of pentecostal churches. Some controversy however, erupted in the mid-1940s when or 'The Name' baptism was being preached.[79] This led to a new 'independent' group emerging which was not significant at the time, but despite its inauspicious beginnings[80] would ultimately become the 'New Life Churches of New Zealand' in 1988.

The 'Pentecostal Church' became the 'Elim Church' in December 1951 following the Executive Elders being impressed by the Elim Constitution in Great Britain.[81] More important however, was the impact of the new healing evangelists later in the decade.

A resurgence of interest in healing evangelism was also felt in Australasia after the peak years of activity in the United States from 1947 to 1952. The momentum then developed for pentecostal healing evangelism to become an

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[74] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements,* p. 156. Knowles adds that Wigglesworth's visits were a 'reservoir of support' for the pentecostal movement in New Zealand ('Some Aspects', p. 41).
[75] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 237, and especially from the mid-1930s (see p. 169).
[76] *Ibid.*, p. 197.
[77] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 234.
[78] *Ibid.*, p. 168.
[79] Also known as 'New Name Baptism', Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 182.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 297.
[81] *Ibid.*, p. 191.

international phenomenon.[82] One of the first visiting preachers in this period was Tommy Hicks, the American missionary evangelist and faith healer who conducted campaigns in Wellington and Christchurch in late 1957. This, according to Knowles, marked 'the real beginnings of post-war revivalism' in New Zealand.[83]

Hicks's visit provided the impetus for local independents such as Rob Wheeler to hold tent meetings. He (Hicks) and Roberts also provided a style for the local itinerants to emulate. Knowles describes the effects on Wheeler:

> Stirred by Hicks' campaign, Rob Wheeler returned to Tauranga, where he resigned his pastorate, bought a large tent and began to conduct independent evangelistic healing campaigns using the tent as a "mobile church." This mode of Pentecostal evangelism was modelled on the tent crusades of Oral Roberts in the United States. Rob Wheeler was one of the first to launch into this type of healing evangelism, although others (for example, the White brothers, Ian Hunt, Graeme Jacks and Mike Bensley) soon followed suit, making use of tent-churches and local halls, as well as occasionally conducting campaigns for other churches by invitation.[84]

The emphasis at this time however, was on salvation and healing, rather than baptism in the Spirit.[85] It would appear that the independents enjoyed considerable success in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Wheeler, for example, described his campaign among East Coast Maori in the North Island as 'an absolute landslide',[86] but the real impact came after 1959 when local efforts were supplemented by the visits of other overseas evangelists, including A. S. Worley in 1959 and 1960. It was at Worley's Timaru meetings in June and July 1960[87] and subsequent meetings conducted by Paul Collins and Ron Coady in Gore in March the following year, that a recent migrant from Australia, Peter Morrow, first emerged as a potential leader in the independent stream.

Morrow's roots were in Australia where after conversion he came under the influence of expatriate New Zealander Ray Jackson, who had visited America in

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[82] Knowles, 'Some Aspects', p. 44.
[83] Knowles, *ibid.*, p. 45. See also Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 194.
[84] Knowles, 'Vision of the Disinherited? The Growth of The Pentecostal Movement In The 1960s, With Particular Reference To The New Life Churches of New Zealand' in Gilling, (Ed), *Be Ye Separate*, pp. 124-25.
[85] Knowles, 'Some Aspects', p. 48, and also (*ibid.*) citing an interview with Wheeler, p. 125.
[86] *Loc. cit.*
[87] Worley held a small mission in Timaru in April, but felt called to return and work on a larger scale. The twice daily meetings in June and July were noted for the alleged healing of toothaches and miraculous silver fillings.

1947 and aligned himself with the Bethel Temple ministry in Seattle, Washington and the Latter Rain teachings. Jackson's roots in New Zealand and Australia provided a direct link between contemporary American teachings and the emerging healing evangelism in New Zealand from the late 1950s. This was a critical development in the subsequent expansion of the independent pentecostals and in turn, the coming of the charismatic renewal.

Morrow, however, was more accommodating of those in historic churches than some of his contemporaries in the early 1960s; Wheeler for example, believed he was 'too wide' and preached instead a 'comeoutism'. For Wheeler in these years, 'real blessing' could only be found in the life of an independent and non-institutional fellowship, which excluded the historic churches.

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the independent pentecostals expanded considerably due to three related factors: a widespread and growing interest in divine healing in this period; the impact of the new evangelicalism and the popularity of large mass meetings, and thirdly, the growth of a youth-driven counter-culture in the 1960s also augured well for growth. The appeal of this type of pentecostalism lay in its itinerant and non-institutional style, while retaining a strong sense of personal security and faith for living in anxious times.[88]

As the decade progressed this growth also affected the historic churches. Leaders such as Morrow were an obvious source of teaching and inspiration, but as the momentum amongst 'neo-pentecostals' became so considerable, especially in Christchurch, the inspiration became two way and even traditional pentecostal churches, such as the Sydenham AOG—with its roots back in the Wigglesworth campaigns of the 1920s—came to be affected by the developments.[89]

[88] This was Knowles's conclusion, see 'Some Aspects', pp. 338-39.

2.3.3. The Renewal Arrives

In the first issue of *Logos,* a charismatic journal established in Christchurch in mid-1966, Welshman J. Hywel Davies (then living in the United States), provided an account of the first recorded instance of the renewal in California. 'The New Pentecostalism' as the article was titled, was reproduced in *Logos* having first appeared in *Crusade* magazine. Davies noted that:

> It [was] quite spontaneous, and appears to have come as a result of little prayer groups which have been springing up everywhere seeking the face of God for revival. One of these "beginnings" is traced to St. Mark's Episcopal Church, Van Nuys, California (membership 2,500). *Trinity,* a sixty-page glossy Episcopalian magazine, tells the story in one of its issues. "On Passion Sunday, April 3, 1960, something occurred in a staid, suburban Episcopalian church that rocked religious circles the world over. The Rev. Dennis J. Bennett, Rector of St. Mark's Episcopal Church, announced in his Sunday sermon that he had been filled with the Holy Spirit and had spoken with other tongues. The rector was asked to resign, and did so, but seventy of his parishioners had also received the same experience, and some five hundred more were openly sympathetic and interested."
>
> Today, less than four years later, we hear of Anglicans and Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians, Lutherans and Plymouth Brethren, who are opening their hearts and minds to this new movement of the Holy Spirit, which even in the fifties we would have thought impossible. Arthur Wallis at the Christian Convention in Eastbourne in 1962 said, "A new movement is under way. God is creating in the hearts of many of His children a thirst for Himself, for revival, for the Holy Spirit. ..." [90]

The charismatic renewal represented a cross-pollination of the new evangelicalism with pentecostal healing evangelism. Given the enormous appeal and impact of those separate but parallel developments, it was predictable that 'Spirit-baptised' Christianity would eventually extend beyond an explicitly pentecostal milieux. What was less predictable was where it would first conspicuously appear, and when. Dennis Bennett's experience is usually cited as the beginning, but there were stirrings of change in the mid-1950s.

Among the pre-charismatic developments was the formation of the FGBMFI by Californian millionaire Demos Shakarian, in 1951. The speaker at the first

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[89] See 6.3.1 and 6.3.2, pp. 211-23.
[90] J. Hywel Davies, 'The New Pentecostalism', *Logos,* Vol. 1, No. 1, August 1966, p. 12.

meeting was Oral Roberts.[91] As a para-church organisation, FGBMFI did not expect members to become denominational pentecostals but its influence and inspiration clearly came from that source. However, the writer in an early article in the organisation's magazine *Voice* noted that, 'God never intended that the Full Gospel or pentecostal groups should have a religious monopoly on the Baptism of the Holy Spirit'.[92] There was not at this time however, any widely-accepted notion of the Spirit renewing the historic churches.

Another development was the growing prominence of David du Plessis in the 1950s. A central figure in facilitating the charismatic 'vision' du Plessis, the South African-born pentecostal leader[93] had received a 'prophecy' for this work from Smith Wigglesworth in 1936. This was to the effect there would be a pentecostal revival in the mainstream churches and du Plessis would be among its leaders. Accordingly his contacts with church leaders increased in the fifties and by the middle of that decade de Plessis 'was regularly reporting the thrilling news that God was pouring out his Spirit on Christians of the "denominational churches" in many lands'.[94]

The movement also affected England, although the first reported instance there was some three years after Bennett's announcement:

> In 1963 charismatic renewal came to Beckenham. George Forester, Vicar of St. Paul's, and a group of parishioners received 'the baptism of the Holy Spirit', started speaking in tongues and began to hold weekly fellowship meetings for the exercise of spiritual gifts...Speaking in tongues, the practice of glossolalia, had hitherto been confined to the Pentecostal tradition, but now there were outbreaks within the mainstream churches.[95]

A number of developments had also been occurring in New Zealand in the early 1960s. Aside from continued attempts to 'keep the [Billy Graham] crusade spirit alive', Wheeler's tent meetings, Worley's outreaches and Morrow's relocation to

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[91] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 130, and also p. 321.
[92] *Ibid.*, p. 131.
[93] Du Plessis was affectionately known as 'Mr Pentecost'.
[94] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 131. Other useful details of du Plessis's life and ministry are recorded in Sherrill, *Other Tongues*, pp. 54-55. See also 7.2.2, pp. 246-47.
[95] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, p. 229. For prominent figures like Michael Harper, early charismatic experience meant losing touch with the evangelical world 'for about twelve years'. The ecumenical issue arising from the early renewal was, he notes, a catalyst to a polarisation within evangelicalism. See Michael Harper, *This Is The Day—A Fresh Look at Christian Unity* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), p. 24.

Christchurch, there were also events of national and strategic importance in the main denominational and other churches. Arthur Wallis, an Englishman with a Brethren background,[96] had experienced Spirit baptism in the early 1950s and soon after developed a 'vision' for a restoration of the New Testament Church.[97] During his 'Tell New Zealand' crusade with Campbell McAlpine in 1962-63 Wallis also received tongues, causing controversy when his message was interpreted in some in the assemblies as an apology for the *charismata*.[98]

Wallis returned to New Zealand in April 1963 and remained until late the following year, during which time he facilitated meetings between charismatics outside of pentecostal churches. This was the genesis of a separate charismatic identity and constituency which led to the conference at Massey University in Palmerston North in August 1964. Over 300 people attended this event which has been described as 'a landmark for the charismatic movement in New Zealand'.[99] The only non-Brethren speaker was Tom Marshall, a Wellington Baptist, which indicates the widespread but unofficial influence the renewal had had on the assemblies up to that time, despite the controversies.[100]

In Palmerston North however, other important developments had been occurring at All Saints parish where Ray Muller was curate, as well as at Awapuni Baptist Church where minister Ian Drinkwater had received Spirit baptism which led to a ceding from the Baptist Union and the formation of Awapuni Christian Centre in 1965.[101]

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[96] An in-depth account of Wallis's connections with the Brethren and the reaction to both Wallis and Campbell McAlpine is provided in Lineham's paper, 'Tongues Must Cease'.
[97] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 878.
[98] See 5.1.3, p. 147. Lineham adds that although there were Brethren who 'welcomed McAlpine', many did not realise that he and friend Denis Clark 'spoke in tongues in [their] own private devotions. [McAlpine's] public ministry was not on the subject of spiritual gifts although it was very much in the tradition of "higher life" teaching. Privately he was willing to discuss the gifts, although he never identified himself wholly with the Charismatic Movement. ...' 'Tongues Must Cease', p. 19.
[99] Knowles, 'Some Aspects', p. 108.
[100] Accordingly, Lineham concludes: 'The Charismatic Movement in New Zealand owes much to the Brethren in its spirituality, its eschatology, its ecclesiology and its leadership'. 'Tongues Must Cease', p. 42.
[101] Elaine Bolitho adds that Drinkwater had attended Trevor Chandler's Tawa (Wellington) meetings on Friday evenings, and Awapuni Christian Centre which was subsequently involved in the establishment of the CAM tape library in 1965-66 which later evolved into CAM as a national organisation servicing the renewal. 'In This World', p. 113.

Like the Brethren, the extent to which renewal affected the Baptist churches can be gauged from the pace of developments. As recently as 1958 the Assembly had concluded from a detailed study that, 'This coming of the Holy Spirit was accompanied by certain phenomena which were incidental and a repetition of which need not be expected'.[102]

Three years after the Massey Conference, in 1967, the effects continued to be felt in Baptist circles. Not all those affected however, followed Drinkwater's lead. In the 'Note Book' column of the *New Zealand Baptist*, a clearly frustrated writer spoke out claiming those affected by 'Pentecostal doctrines and practices' but chose to remain in the church were, unwittingly perhaps, but still no less, 'agents of Satan himself'. In an article 'Members We Can Do Without' it was claimed that:

> ...those who have accepted Pentecostal doctrines and practices, and yet who have remained in our churches [are causing] centres of faction and disruption.
>
> We are not denying the right of such people to accept such teachings...That's a right which, as Baptists, we would never challenge. But...[this] does not give the right to propagate those views in such a way as to disrupt the fellowship of the church. ...
>
> Baptists who accept Pentecostalist views should...sever their connections with their church, and link up with the like-minded people in one of the several Pentecostalist bodies in the country...love and honesty demand that they resign their membership, rather than remain as agents, no matter how unwitting, of Satan himself'.[103]

As this writer was painfully aware, charismatic renewal threatened the established doctrine and ecclesiology of the denominational churches. When it did appear, there was little gentle or subtle about it. The nature of the phenomenon was experiential and enthusiastic and in its purest sense, those affected longed for 'the Baptism' to be experienced by others in their churches, even though efforts in that direction, as described here, were often not well received.

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[102] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[103] Cited in Bolitho, 'In This World', pp. 126-27.

The next significant national development was the establishment of *Logos*. Local developments in Christchurch had been considerable by that time[104] and resources were found to publish four issues a year beginning in August 1966. In the first editorial, the former Methodist presbyter from Durham Street, David Edmonds, commented that, 'we hear much today about the "Death of God Theology" and the time is right for Christians to be witnessing with bold assurance that God is very much alive. To make such a bold assertion we must have a real encounter with God, to let Him fill our lives with the power of the Holy Spirit, then we will *know*'.[105]

In other words, the emerging renewal was seen as the God-ordained answer to the new theology. Other articles in *Logos* suggest it was the new thing God was doing to revitalise 'believing' evangelical churches. Intended primarily to 'present aspects of Christian truth, more particularly the person and Work of the Holy Spirit',[106] *Logos* was more than a teaching resource, or even an apologetic for the renewal; its main value for the fledging movement was to *unify, co-ordinate* and *network* among churches and individuals affected by renewal. The exact effect of this is difficult to gauge, but as a vehicle for promoting, advertising and reporting on prominent charismatic speakers coming to New Zealand *Logos* was unique.

The national renewal was established and rapidly expanding by the mid-1960s. It is, however, the developments in Christchurch that are the focus of the present study. An examination of what was occurring there will be offered in Chapter 4 beginning with Pastor Peter Morrow and then, the wider Christchurch scene in Chapter 5.

Summary

The charismatic renewal was a fusion of historical, recent and populist expressions of Christianity. It was the product of unique historical and religious variables in the post World War II years. It contained clearly identifiable

[104] Including for example, Morrow's arrival in the city in 1962 and the 'Adullam's Cave' outreach in 1965. See 4.2, pp. 104-15.
[105] David W. Edmonds, 'Editorial', *Logos* (*op. cit.*), p. 2, emphasis in original.

elements of evangelicalism, revivalism, fundamentalism, pentecostalism and was even able to benefit from the pervasive scepticism that the so-called 'new theology' had cast over traditional belief, and the Vatican II reforms within the Roman Catholicism. Along with its immediate precursors, the new evangelicalism of Billy Graham, and the healing evangelism of the American pentecostals, the renewal provided hope to counter the fears of the age. It also reflected the existentialism of the 1960s and the immediacy of existence and experience preceding the search for a spiritual essence.

The Graham crusade of April 1959 set in motion a new spirit of co-operation among evangelicals in New Zealand which stimulated developments within pentecostal groups, the intensity of which had not been seen since the Wigglesworth visits of the 1920s and the formation of pentecostal churches later that decade. In turn, the renewal successfully merged the fervour of the crusade with the additional message and 'power' dimension of the pentecostal message.

Some pentecostals wished to maintain a separation from those in the historic churches or sought to assimilate them. The renewal was received uncomfortably in the main churches but each major denomination (including the Roman Catholics) was sooner or later required to respond.

Chapter 3 considers the nature of charismatic renewal more closely as an enthusiastic religious phenomenon. This will provide further evidence of its links with church history as well as explain in more detail its characteristics.

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[106] *Ibid.*, inside front cover.

Chapter 3

'The inward experiences' An Anatomy of Renewal

Having discussed the origins of charismatic renewal and introduced basic concepts, the focus in this chapter is renewal as an enthusiastic religious phenomenon. Enthusiasm has been explored by the English historian and distinguished Roman Catholic apologist, R. A. Knox, and more recently by Scottish author David Middlemiss. This provides a useful framework for understanding the renewal more fully.[1]

As initially described by Knox and subsequently developed by Middlemiss, 'enthusiasm' can be used to identify key characteristics of religious excitability.[2] Beginning with the Stuart sects, Knox claimed 'the pattern is always repeating itself, not in outline merely but in detail. Almost always the enthusiastic movement is denounced as an innovation, yet claims to be preserving or restoring, the primitive discipline of the Church'.[3] Although referring to very diverse expressions including Quakerism, Pietism, Moravianism, Shakerism and the Methodism of John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, the elements identified by Knox are shared by charismatic renewal.[4] It too, is an enthusiastic religious movement.

What occurred in Christchurch across the period 1960 to 1985 conformed to these patterns but in a manner unique to that location. The body of the thesis explores the distinctive contours of this evolution and provides detailed insight into the charismatic renewal as a further example of religious enthusiasm.

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[1] R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm—A Chapter in the History of Religion* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), and David Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience* (London: SCM Press, 1996).

[2] Although close attention is paid to Knox and Middlemiss, James Packer's book *Keep in Step With the Spirit* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1984), also provides a thorough but more theological appraisal of renewal, particularly Chapters 5 and 6; 'Mapping the Spirit's Path: The Charismatic Life' (pp. 170-99), and 'Mapping the Spirit's Path: Interpreting Charismatic Life' (pp. 200-34).

[3] Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 1.

[4] Interestingly, however, Knox (*ibid.*, p. 578) believed modern enthusiasm was waning, 'our fellow countrymen [he concludes] are less susceptible, in these days, to the emotional appeal. Perhaps it is a closed chapter, this

3.1. Renewal as an Enthusiastic Religious Phenomenon

3.1.1. An Overview of Enthusiasm

Religious enthusiasm displays certain identifiable traits. Middlemiss summarises the 'tendencies' to which Knox referred, but with a focus on the charismatic renewal. He notes that:

> ...The enthusiastic movement will claim to be restoring the primitive spirituality of the church, but it is usually denounced and opposed, both by the mainstream of the church, and by those with no spirituality of any sort. Almost always there will be schism which creates rival groups and prophets. Eventually the movement will be absorbed into the institutional as the initial fervour dies out.
>
> Enthusiastic spirituality is described as 'Ultraspiritualism' by Knox, by which he means that the supernatural becomes an expected part of everyday life. One aspect of this is that total transformation of the personality is expected as the norm, rather than the exception.
>
> There is a single-minded desire to live a life of 'angelic purity', which tends towards a separation from all 'worldly' amusements. ...
>
> The main stream of religion is condemned as being an affair of simply outward form and ordinances, whereas authentic Christianity is now being restored as an affair of the heart through the enthusiastic group, who claim direct and immediate access to God. The inward experiences of peace, joy and assurance are craved for, and expressed in simple 'heart worship'. There is a distinctly subjective emphasis.[5]

This section expands on these points in relation to renewal and other examples of enthusiasm as appropriate.

The first identified characteristic is the attempt to restore biblical principles and practices considered ignored or devalued throughout church history. For pentecostals and charismatics, the Acts of the Apostles are primary. The demonstrative presence of the Holy Spirit, *glossolalia*, the sense of fellowship (*koinonia*), and large numbers of new converts, were again to define 'the Christian life'. This desire to restore the primitive spirituality of the early church permeates the charismatic renewal. It aimed to replicate the New Testament church in its simplicity, commitment, radicalism and power. The restorationist

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chapter in the history of religion'. He had no apparent insight into the new evangelicalism, modern pentecostalism, or the charismatic renewal.

tendency is also known as *primitivism.*[6] The enthusiast is motivated to restore a past age but paradoxically is seen as an 'innovator', as Knox explains:

> It is a common assumption, bred in our minds by pious literature and frequent pulpit denunciations, that the first age of the Church was in every respect a golden age. So it has appeared, especially, to the leaders of later enthusiastic movements. Your prophet who passes for an innovator in the eyes of his contemporaries does not admit the charge; he claims, rather, to be restoring the godly discipline which flourished in apostolic times, now overgrown with neglect.[7]

Enthusiasts are undeterred despite faithful replication of the past being a logical impossibility. The character of the new phenomenon, while it may incorporate primitive manifestations, cannot conform in every detail to the past. The idealism takes on a new form and loses much of its 'purity' in the process. With reference to English Non-conformity, Henry Clark adds that when purity as a goal is 'embodied' it ceases to be an ideal. His point is that the recapture of primitivist religion invariably occurs in a new historical context:

> It is as though [he explains] every spirit, so soon as it seeks to transfer itself from the region of the abstract being to the region of embodiment and application and reality, finds that something of its purity is lost, that its singleness of being, so to call it, is somewhat impaired—partly because the existing circumstances, into which the spirit is projected, compel a compromise between the new spirit and themselves, and partly because the new spirit is but imperfectly understood even by the men whom it sways. The new spirit enters the world, seizes hold upon the world and endeavours to realise itself there; but the world in its turn seizes hold upon the new spirit, wrests it as it were out of its original shape, and insists that the adjustment between the world and the new spirit shall be made from both sides and not alone from one. In the end, no historical movement is an unadulterated product of the spirit to which it mainly owes its birth.[8]

Recapture of the past, then, is at best incomplete and always within a different culture of interpretation and expression.

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[5] Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience*, pages 6 and 7.

[6] Packer, *Keep in Step* (pp. 181-82) adds a general distinction between Protestant and Catholics. 'Most Protestant charismatics theologize their experience in terms of *restoration,* claiming that in response to faith God is reproducing today all that he did at Pentecost...Catholic thinkers, however, usually theologize charismatic experience in terms of *realization* of what was latent before, namely the indwelling of God's Spirit to further man's recovery of God...', emphasis in original.

[7] Knox, *Enthusiasm,* p. 9.

[8] Henry W. Clark, *History of English Non-Conformity.* Volume 1, 'From Wiclif [sic] to the Restoration' (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), pp. 1-2.

The charismatic renewal as described in this study was successfully 'embodied' because the juncture in which it appeared (the 1960s) was one in which church and society were in flux. A confluence of religious and social change found an outlet in the renewal. In one of the most significant books of the era, author Hal Lindsey captured the 1960s quest for a faith which was relevant, sensitive to youth[9] and able to recapture 'first century' elements. In *The Late Great Planet Earth* he said:

> Above all, young people want a simple, personal, and relevant answer to life that isn't based upon self-centered materialism, but upon real life, selfless love. When they are shown that this idealistic view of life cannot be achieved by various shades of welfarism, socialism, or drugs, but only through a personal relationship with Christ that is not tied to joining an institutional church (or religious country club as they call it), then many respond and receive Jesus Christ. ...
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> Many youth are going to be on the front edge of a movement toward first century-type Christianity, with an emphasis upon people and their needs rather than buildings and unwieldy programs.[10]

Like other enthusiasms, the charismatic renewal presented a 'front-edge' and in touch type of spirituality despite the primary emphasis on primitivism. [11]

Middlemiss's next point concerns schism. Recapturing lost truth creates tension between advocates and those rejecting what is proposed or wishing to retain the *status quo*. Charismatics, for example, whether they wanted to or not, created a dichotomy between spiritual 'haves' and 'have nots'. As with the Mennonite sects in Holland and the Hutterites in Moravia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the regenerated life in the Holy Spirit demanded a 'holy community of equals' to maintain 'a pure community in an evil world'. The attendant beliefs of religious enthusiasm including the dualism of the divine and temporal, the supra authority of believers transcending the world and its governance, the passion for knowing and direct experience of divinity, the importance of piety, and the

[9] Many evangelists were acutely aware of this. At the Billy Graham crusade, for example, 'Only one special grouping of New Zealanders stood out from amongst the many thousands who responded. The accent was on Youth. Some 55 percent of the enquirers were between the ages of 15 and 20'. Hutchinson and Wilson, *Let The People Rejoice*, p. 56.

[10] Hal Lindsay, *The Late Great Planet Earth* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing, 1970), pages 171 and 172.

quests for total freedom and lived community, all tended to create schism by highlighting the separate and exalted status of the 'haves'.

Middlemiss also suggests external opposition is 'roughly in proportion to the level of radicalism in the movement, and antagonistic reaction becomes inevitable with more developed enthusiasm'.[12] The more different it is from the traditional, the harder it will be to accept new views and cope with change. Charismatic renewal was very different to traditional practices and its adherents believed in a Spirit-led mandate to proselytise within churches.

An internal source of division is the felt need to continually pursue deeper insights and adopt new practices. Excitability requires continual change. This is acute when leaders are sensitive to the immediacy of 'new' revelation. Liturgical or sacramental practices, by contrast, are relatively resistant, whereas enthusiasm demands and is more responsive to change. Rival groups and prophets are common as are shifting loyalties when fresh insight is sought. As Middlemiss notes of the renewal, 'a group will sometimes retreat into the wilderness to set up its own society and sub-culture'.[13] This occurred in Christchurch with at least two groups: the followers of Dr David Metcalf at 'Camp David' near Waipara in North Canterbury; and the sect which formed around Neville Cooper (the 'Cooperites') at Cust, also in the North Canterbury countryside.[14]

For the most part however, schism was confined to partitioned groups within churches, and on occasion, new 'breakaway' churches (Hornby Elim for example coming from Hornby Presbyterian). In each case, participants believed they were preserving 'purity' in the face of compromise or mediocrity.

A further important tendency, and one that is particularly evident later in this study, is the absorption of enthusiasm 'into the institutional'. Renewal leaders wanted to impact the church by making the *charismata* normative. Primitivism

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[11] The other instances explored by Knox, such as Quakerism and Moravianism were longer-lived and developed a strong and separate institutional existence. In contrast, the renewal was attached to the established churches.
[12] Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience*, p. 11.
[13] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

creates a cause to be championed at both the parish and denominational levels. Over time however, as charismatic influence pervaded the leadership of churches, home groups, the music and instrumentation used in services, and testimonies of transformation were shared, many charismatic distinctives became grafted into the life and ministry of accommodating churches. The former view of these things as 'radical'—and the strong contending for them—faded as enthusiasm merged into institutional acceptance. In dialectical parlance, a workable 'synthesis' or outcome occurs, but this is not without opposition and schism ('antithesis').

By the 1980s the renewal in Christchurch (as elsewhere) had been accepted as a valid expression of ministry within most denominations. This evolutionary tendency was among the factors accounting for a declension in enthusiasm within the city as that decade progressed. Demand for change became more difficult when opposition was more diffuse and the ideas themselves readily accepted or considered less 'radical'. Additional energy is required at that point to maintain the impetus.

A further characteristic of enthusiasm is its hyper-spirituality or, as Knox called it, 'ultraspiritualism' or 'ultrasupernaturalism'. Of all the extravagances associated with enthusiasm, this, he claims, was 'the chief' among 'disturbing symptoms':

> These are extravagances; classic examples of the exceptional. If we had no further hesitations about enthusiasm, it would have little reason for self-reproach. But we have observed, in the foregoing chapters, other disturbing or disruptive symptoms which are more surely recurrent, more native to its genius. The chief of these—and indeed it largely subsumes the others—is what I have called ultrasupernaturalism. It is the attempt to root up nature and plant the seed of grace in fallow soil, instead of grafting the supernatural on to the natural, after the timorous fashion of orthodoxy.[15]

In charismatic parlance, the supernatural and the natural were not joint aspects of a unified and incarnated reality, but seen as separate and opposite. This dualism rests on a distinction between 'head' and 'heart' and owes much to

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[14] In recent years Cooper has changed his name to 'Hopeful Christian' and relocated the community to the outskirts of Greymouth. See also 4.2.1, p. 105, n. 43.

pietism, the holiness movement and revivalism. Jonathan Edwards in the Great Awakening of the eighteenth century employed the terms 'understanding' and 'inclination' (respectively), but spoke of the latter as the 'heart'. Illustrating the long history of this dualism, he elaborates in an important discourse on the 'Nature and Importance of the Affections':

> God has indued the soul with two faculties: one is that by which it is capable of perception and speculation, or by which it discerns and views and judges of things; which is called the understanding. The other faculty is that by which the soul does not merely perceive and view things, but is some way inclined with respect to the things it views or considers; either it is inclined to 'em, or is disinclined, and averse from 'em...This faculty is called by various names: it is sometimes called the *inclination:* and, it has respect to the actions that are determined and governed by it, ...is often called the *heart.*[16]

In their own appropriation of this distinction, charismatics considered the 'heart' to be the spiritual core aligned with the emotions and intuitive sensitivities, while the 'head' was primarily rational and for many, an impediment to meaningful spiritual engagement. For Edwards, however, the integration of the faculties was important in distinguishing genuine from spurious piety.[17] The polarity of 'head' and 'heart'—and with it, a strong and implicit distrust of intellectual activity—characterised pentecostalism and was inherited by many (but not all) charismatics. This neglect, based on simplistic and false dismissals of reason, was the very issue Edwards warned against in regard to the affections.

The indifference (contempt in some instances) that certain pentecostals had for formal tertiary learning was based on the assumption that this would sap spiritual energy and corrupt the mind. This was less pronounced among charismatic clergy (who often held university qualifications) but it remained implicit. 'The mystic', Knox adds, 'from the very nature of his religious approach, is tone-deaf, as a rule, to theology'.[18]

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[15] Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 584.
[16] John E. Smith (Ed), *The Works of Jonathan Edwards—A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 96, emphasis in original.
[17] 'Holy affections [he writes] are not heat without light; but evermore arise from some information of the understanding, some spiritual instruction that the mind receives, some light or actual knowledge'. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
[18] Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 583.

The assumption of no theology is aligned to the naïvety of primitivism itself and a belief the past can be recaptured *in toto*. The choice however, is never between 'theology' and 'no theology' but *what kind of theology* finds expression. For a decade from the mid-1960s many leaders embraced primitivism so enthusiastically that the issue of 'which theology' did not surface until 1980 when serious questions were being asked. This later sobriety was a factor in the overall slowing of the renewal's momentum in New Zealand during that decade. The initial concerns were raised by Michael Harper, an English charismatic in a provocative paper issued by CAM.[19]

The 'natural supernatural'[20] demands high levels of energy, commitment and a consistent focus on otherworldliness. The promise of experience in an ethereal realm was an appealing aspect of renewal, but for many its demands were unsustainable, and the corollary was guilt and a sense of separation from God. One interviewee in this study candidly admitted he had 'had a gutsful of the whole thing' by 1982 and sought to distance himself after that. Ultra-spiritualism potentially denies the Incarnation; that essential christological understanding of an abiding union in Christ's Person of Godhead and Manhood. Gnosticism was a related danger.[21] Emphasis on the spiritual devalues rationality, as Knox explains:

> More generally characteristic of ultraspiritualism is a distrust of our human thought-processes. In matters of abstract theology, the discipline of the intellect is replaced by a blind act of faith. In matters of practical deliberation, some sentiment of inner conviction, or some external 'sign' indicative of the Divine will, claims priority over all considerations of common prudence...You must not *think;* that would be to use the arm of flesh, and forsake your birthright.[22]

This has been a long-standing criticism of religious enthusiasm. John Locke for example, in his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690)—a seminal empiricist work and critical assessment of the origins, nature and limits of

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[19] For more on Harper's teaching contribution see 7.1.2, pp. 236-38 and regarding his 1980 paper; 8.2.1, pp. 285-87.

[20] This phrase Middlemiss credits to John Wimber, a key leader in the so-called Third Wave of the 1980s. Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience,* p. 15.

[21] The renewal has drawn this criticism in recent appraisals, see for example, John F. MacArthur (Junior), *Charismatic Chaos* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Publishing, 1992). For a discussion on Gnosticism, see pp. 93-94.

[22] Knox, *Enthusiasm,* pages 585 and 586, emphasis in original.

human reason in an emerging scientific milieu—argued for experience (empiricism) as a basis for knowing. For Locke and other deists, epistemological certainty generated suspicion of enthusiasm. Excited persuasion must be tested by something objective to be *reasonable*:

> This I take to be properly Enthusiasm, which though founded neither on reason, nor Divine Revelation, but arising from the Conceits of a warmed or overweening Brain, works yet, where it once gets a footing, more powerfully on the Perswasions [sic] and Actions of Men, than either of those two or both together. ...
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> *Reason* must be our last judge and Guide in every Thing. ...Every conceit that thoroughly warms our fancies must pass for an inspiration, if there be nothing but the strength of our perswasions, whereby to judge of our perswasions; if reason must not examine their truth by something extrinsical to the perswasions themselves, inspirations and delusions, truth and falsehood, will have the same measure, and will not be possible to be distinguished.[23]

In *The Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695) the thesis was extended contending the only secure basis of Christianity was reason.[24] While the fundamental unit of understanding was intuitive knowledge of our own existence, and empirical (lived) experience, according to Locke, we also know by deduction and demonstration, and it was in this sense that we can *demonstrate* the existence of God.

This highlights the tendency to emphasise subjective experience. Early leaders insisted the point of entry into the *charismata* was *glossolalia* and 'baptism in the Spirit',[25] while the outworking was personal purity and joy. This added to holiness an introspective, sensate experience; it was both lived and felt. As in the Keswick tradition, holiness was the product of self-restraint but now *also* the omnipresent empowering of the Holy Spirit.[26] Ironically however, this 'felt

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[23] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), Book IV, Chapter XIX, Section 7, p. 699, and also Section 14, p. 704.

[24] Locke grapples with the role of revelation *vis à vis* reason: 'Tis no diminishing to Revelation [he claims], that Reason gives its Suffrage too to the Truths Revelation has discovered'. (*Essay*, Chapter XIV, p. 156.)

[25] See for example, articles in the early issues of *Logos*, a charismatic magazine published in Christchurch from 1966-1971.

[26] Historically an emphasis on the experiential dimension of affective religion was a product of the Enlightenment when individual conversion and religious experience began to be prominent. Ironically, given the tension between the 'new theology' and the charismatic renewal of the 1960s, both liberal theology and the stream of individual religious experience stemming from John and Charles Wesley, the holiness movement and

presence' resulted in a diminished understanding of the need to address social issues. It was wedded to spiritual self-fulfillment and an undeveloped notion of biblical justice, as Middlemiss explains:

> Charismatic churches have not always been noted for holiness which is expressed in a concern for practical social issues, such as third-world poverty, or altering injustice in Western society. Charismatic holiness can tend towards a more introverted form. It is a spirituality which turns its back on the world, an attitude which is the consequence of a theology which sees the world as the kingdom of Satan. This world is what one is being saved from, one's neighbours are enemies of the kingdom, and Christians are soldiers who fight those who are not for the Gospel. It is a holiness which will consequently consist of purity in thought, of avoiding 'demonic influences' and steeping oneself in Christian literature and music, of the passive virtues of not doing or thinking the wrong things, and of feeling the right things. It is an introverted and subjective concept of being holy.[27]

When an awareness of such 'worldly' issues developed, as it did in certain later streams of the renewal, the lack of theological rigor coupled with the practical problems of engagement dampened enthusiasm.

Reference to 'the kingdom of Satan' is critically important in understanding charismatic renewal. This was the obverse but mutually inclusive dimension of ultra-spiritualism, an understanding of which fed into a heightened desire amongst believers for 'discernment in the things of the Spirit'. In charismatic parlance the kingdoms of light and darkness come into sharp relief, and the struggle between the two—of which the believer is consciously caught in the middle—requires vigilant pietistic effort overseen by the protecting and guiding work of the Spirit. This task, which leaves nothing to complacency, is the reason the renewal maintained the holiness focus on inner purity. It elevated this understanding to a new awareness of good and evil, light and darkness. But it was the preoccupation with this aspect, and the depths at which it could be explored and known, that tended to preclude (or at least overshadow) priority being given to a theology of structural engagement with the wider culture.

As in orthodox and historical Christianity, the renewal understood Satan and legions of fallen supernatural beings (demons), to be real spiritual entities, and

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pentecostalism were also (at one level), products of the Enlightenment; the former extending the primacy of rationality and reason, and the latter reacting to it.

the antithesis of God's plan, Christ, and the Kingdom of Light generally. The exact point however, at which the work of Satan or demonic influences could be distinguished from the fallen or carnal self, proved difficult to determine. Such awareness—whatever actual source could be cited—was of less importance than what could be done about it. Charismatics readily appropriated exorcism or 'deliverance' using Jesus's own experience in the gospels as a pattern.[28] This entailed calling upon the direct authority of heaven to purge evil from a person (or persons), sometimes accompanied by another New Testament practice, the laying on of hands.[29]

This mindset was expressed in reactionary responses to political issues, as in the 1970s' rallies against the extension of sex education progammes in schools, the opposition to new abortion law, and later, in 1985, in concerns over homosexual law reform. The devil manifest in humanist and liberal law was widely considered in charismatic, pentecostal and other morally conservative circles to be primarily responsible for such developments. By retaining (and extending) the holiness focus on personal piety pentecostal and charismatic understandings of Satan and 'the demonic' inadvertently led to social and political naïvety.

An important motivation for an enthusiastic group is the opposition encountered from 'the main stream of religion'. This defensiveness found ready Scriptural justification (Amos for example), who warned against outward form replacing the divine call for justice and 'true religion'. According to Jonathan Edwards, true religion relied upon the affections being stirred: 'He who has no religious affection, [he claimed] is in a state of spiritual death'.[30] This was echoed by charismatic leaders so the emphasis on 'heart' religion is a further trait properly linking the renewal with enthusiasm. Charismatics distanced themselves from formalism by emphasising inner conviction and transformation. Buildings,

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[27] Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience,* pp. 17-18.

[28] See for example, Matthew 17 verse 18: 'Jesus rebuked the demon and it came out of the boy, and he was healed from that moment'. John Goldingay suggests the opposite however; it is precisely because Jesus *did* deal with the demonic, that believers today don't have to: 'charismatics [he notes] often assume that Jesus's ministry is a model for ours. But how far is that so? ...With regard to the demonic, the significance of Jesus's ministry is surely that we do not have to battle with the demonic as he had to. Is that a surrender to a rationalist worldview? Or is the opposite a surrender to a dualistic one and at least as great a danger?' 'Charismatic Spirituality—Some Theological Reflections', *Theology,* Vol. XCIX. No. 789, May-June 1996, p. 187.

[29] An example of this is found in Luke 4 verse 40: 'When the sun was setting, the people brought to Jesus all who had various kinds of sickness, and laying his hands on each one, he healed them'.

theology, liturgy, hierarchy and meetings became the antithesis of lived faith and distractions from genuine worship.

Charismatics tended to show little or no interest in these aspects—of primary significance was how one *felt* about God. The music of renewal for example, emphasised feeling rather than theology. It was an opportunity for intimate time with God rather than a public proclamation of consecration or service, as hymns traditionally tended to be. The style, tempo and instrumentation reflected the immanence and intimacy of the 'worship' songs which defined and characterised the renewal. Ironically however, the seventeenth century phraseology of the Authorised (King James) Version was often retained; perhaps to add legitimacy, ensure a sense of poetry or cohere with typological frameworks and language of pentecostal antecedents in the Latter Rain and Tabernacle teachings.[31]

One of the 'high' worship songs of the New Zealand renewal was based on a single verse[32] (verse 9) of Psalm 97. This slow and moving melody is a good example of the reaction to hymns which emphasised the transcendent nature of a distant God as (for example) expressed in 'Immortal, invisible, God only wise'. The lyrics were:

> *For Thou,* [*O*] *Lord art high above all the earth. Thou art exalted far above all gods* (repeat). *I exalt Thee, I exalt Thee, I exalt thee, O Lord* (coda).[33]

The emotional import and intensity with which this chorus was sung represented a departure from the formalism of the pre-charismatic era and music of this type provides further evidence linking the renewal with earlier enthusiastic sects. The choruses of renewal provided an outlet for the joy of new life ('praise songs') and intimate relationship with the Trinity ('worship songs'). It also generated a

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[30] Smith, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards,* p. 120.

[31] Examples from the first book compiled by New Zealand musicians David and Dale Garratt, *Scripture in Song* (Havelock North: Scripture in Song, Concorde Distributors, 1979), include Song 6 'For Thou Art Great', Song 14 'Not My Will But Thine Be Done', and Song 31 'Praise Ye The Lord'.

[32] This extrapolation is known as *eisegesis*, rather than the more rigorous contextual hermeneutical method of *exegesis.* In a recent paper, Brett Knowles concluded from a close quantitative analysis of trends in the *Scripture in Song* series from the late sixties to 1987, that even the eisegetical use of Scripture declined: 'The degree of dependence on the text of Scripture was [therefore] becoming less direct by 1981, ...' 'from the ends of the earth we hear songs'—Music as an Indicator of New Zealand Pentecostal Spirituality and Theology', *Australasian Pentecostal Studies,* Issue 5-6, March-October, 2001, p. 8.

[33] Song 50 'I Exalt Thee' (Pete Sanchez, Junior), in David and Dale Garratt, *Songs of the Kingdom* (Havelock North: Concorde Distributors, 1981).

'liturgy' of its own: '3 fast songs, 3 slow and open worship'.[34] For those not involved in such unconventional practices, many were initially suspicious and fearful, but that sense of separation helped define what it meant 'to be charismatic'. Separation from inherited tradition accentuated differences and (for many) fed into the misguided belief of belonging to a 'more valid' category of believers. The unifying tendency of charismatic renewal was limited to its own interpretation of spirituality. Belief in a new sense of status and authority meant many leaders saw their chief task to be recruiting others within churches.

As will be demonstrated in this study, it was here—the work *within* churches and *amongst* believers—that was the essential contribution of the charismatic renewal. It was a package of enthusiastic belief and practice that modified established religious traditions and changed them from within. Many of its distinctives, particularly music and the desire for lived community, were as much part of the 1960s culture as they were a recapture of the animating life of the apostles in first century Asia Minor.

Returning to the initial comment from Middlemiss, a final point can be made concerning 'the inward experiences of peace, joy and assurance [are] craved for'. This captures a lurking ambiguity in renewal between *immanence* and *imminence.* The quest for on-going inward transformation provides evidence of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit (immanence) while the 'craving' occurred within a continual sense of expectation (imminence). These twin emphases were not exclusive to the charismatic renewal but found new expression within it. The theological implications of this will be discussed in the final section of this chapter, but immanence and imminence were both critical beliefs providing the *raison d'être* for an increase in spiritual awareness and activity.

3.1.2. Experience and Baptism in the Holy Spirit

Immanent grace is among the key traits of an enthusiastic movement, including charismatic renewal. Greater expectation is placed on *this* world in terms of transformation and 'restoring the kingdom' on earth. Perfection is attainable in

[34] This has been the writer's own experience over many years as a 'worship leader' in charismatic churches.

this new 'realised' state of grace, and indeed can be demanded and expected immediately. This means the undesirable aspects of the human condition—temptation, sin, pain, and sickness—can be rejected as 'abnormal' and overcome. Traditional doctrine sees nature being perfected only in eternity, but because of this reformulation, 'enthusiastic grace is rather less patient and expects heaven on earth'.[35] Knox explains the difference:

> But the implications of enthusiasm go deeper than this; at the root of it lies a different theology of grace. Our traditional doctrine is that grace perfects nature, elevates it to a higher pitch, so that it can bear its part in the music of eternity, but leaves its nature still. The assumption of the enthusiast is bolder and simpler; for him, grace has destroyed nature, and replaced it. The saved man has come out into a new order of being, with a new set of faculties which are proper to his state. ...[36]

And yet within the renewal there was a contemporaneous emphasis on never quite 'arriving' as well—there was always something more and new depths of experiencing the Spirit and living the 'Spirit-filled' life. Despite this lurking ontological tension it appealed because immanent grace promised an encounter with God in very tangible ways. Above all charismatic renewal was about knowing God through *experience*. This was in direct contrast to the 'dead formalism' of traditional and nominal church life, and the cerebral grappling which characterised the new theology.

Immanence was primary in the charismatic tradition and it relied foremostly upon the experience of 'Baptism in the Holy Spirit'. This was *the* gateway to all subsequent spiritual reality. It also represented the point of departure from non-charismatics. As such 'Spirit baptism' warrants closer explanation.

For charismatics and pentecostals Spirit baptism relates to the events of Pentecost. The gospels record that John the Baptist preached a baptism of repentance, but he also declared Jesus would baptise with the Holy Spirit which on the Day of Pentecost, was fulfilled when 'all of them were filled with the Spirit' (Acts 2 verse 4). The language of 'outpouring', like 'baptising' or 'filling' suggests totality, but also abundance. It is not that a person may have a partial measure of the Holy Spirit at one time and more later; the Spirit is given without

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[35] Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience*, p. 7.

measure. The general understanding claimed by pentecostals and charismatics is that a person has a total experience of the presence of the Holy Spirit. In one sense it is an immersion, a submergence within ('baptised'); in still another it is an invasion from without ('outpouring', 'falling upon'), and such terminology is variously used to describe the experience.

This 'baptism' may be concurrent with initial belief and water baptism or (more usually) subsequent to it. It is a pentecostal (and charismatic) distinctive to affirm that salvation (or regeneration) precedes baptism in the Spirit. These beliefs rely upon an interpretation of key texts such as Acts 19 verse 2, where Paul asks "Did you receive the Holy Spirit when you believed?"; the very question implying the possibility of believing in Christ *without* an accompanying reception of the Holy Spirit.

For early charismatics particular stress was placed upon *glossolalia* as initial evidence of the 'baptism'. Over time, however, a broader understanding developed concerning the variety of gifts and their equal validity, and later 'streams' such as the Third Wave abandoned the initial evidence doctrine altogether.[37]

The purpose of 'baptism' was power (*dunamis*), specifically power for witness and service. Charismatics drew a parallel between the life of Jesus and that of the contemporary believer; despite being the Son of God, Jesus still needed the empowering for ministry that occurred when the Holy Spirit came upon him—so it was with believers reborn by the Spirit as Sons of God. The Spirit was involved in two distinct operations; one in rebirth, the other in empowering for service. Steve Clark, a prominent teacher in the Catholic renewal articulated many of these beliefs in 1969 when he wrote:

> The life of the Spirit is a life in which a Christian can experience the Holy Spirit living in him and working through him. Most Christians today are not living the life of the Spirit. They live their lives on the basis of doctrine. They were taught about Christ and how to live as Christians. They decided to do it and they have been trying to pattern their lives according to Christ's teaching. They believe that Christ is real and that he hears them and helps them. But they do not feel that they are much in contact with

[36] Knox, *Enthusiasm*, p. 3.
[37] See 8.2.3, pp. 298-301.

> him. They do not experience his presence nor do they see things happen which they can tell are his working.
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> The life of the Spirit changes that. When a person is living the life of the Spirit, he knows by experience that the Holy Spirit is in him...he begins to experience the Holy Spirit making it possible for him to praise God and worship God with a new freedom. He experiences the Holy Spirit making the scriptures come to life and giving Christian doctrines new meaning. He experiences a new ability to talk to people about Christ, a deeper peace and joy.[38]
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> When I talk about 'experiencing' things, I do not necessarily have something emotional in mind. 'Experience' to us often means 'emotional' or 'feeling'. We say something is 'an experience' if we mean that it is a great event or a striking happening. However, we can have experiences that are not especially emotional. Suppose I meet my friend's cousin. I may have heard of him before, so I knew he existed. Then I meet him and 'experienced' the fact that he existed. The meeting may not have been particularly emotional or exciting, but the difference is that before I had just heard of him and now I know him by experience. This is the most important sense in which we can experience the Holy Spirit.[39]

This captures very adequately many of the related beliefs held by early charismatics—the centrality of baptism in the Holy Spirit, immanence and direct encounter with God, the dualism of 'head' and 'heart', the antipathy towards doctrine, the quest for sanctification, the focus on experience (what it means), and its enabling benefits, including the ability to witness.

The exaltation of experience gave rise to extravagances which stretched exegetical and hermeneutical principles. It also raised serious questions regarding the status and authority of the 'Spirit-filled' believer versus Scripture. In essence, the renewal lacked a well-defined theology, and this as will be demonstrated later in this study, proved highly problematic. It is worthwhile at this point, however, to touch upon issues emanating from the emphasis on experience and the problems it generated, most notably that of *authority*.

Enthusiastic grace places demands and expectations upon the manifest presence of God. In an account which is archetypal Middlemiss describes the response of a

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[38] Steve Clark, *Baptized in the Spirit and Spiritual Gifts* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Servant Books, 1976), pp. 10-11.
[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

couple whose son was seriously injured in a shooting accident. Having 'cast out the Spirit of Death':

> The lord [sic] told me to lay hands on him and pray. I put my hands on his chest and Linda put her hands on his head. The attendant squeezing the breathing bag looked at me, and I could read her expression. 'Don't you realize he's dead? There's nothing you can do...'
>
> I didn't pray loudly or boldly. My voice was shaky. I said "Father, in the name of Jesus, we claim total healing for our son. We will not accept anything less, not because of who we are, but because of what your word says. We are standing on your word."
>
> Then I talked to Satan. I took authority over him in the name of Jesus, and I called his assignment on my son null and void.[40]

The authority here is the 'name of Jesus' in the present tense. It also freely acknowledges a power conflict at every point of experience. This ultra-spiritualism (demonology) naturally embraces the corollary of a very active pneumatology.

As mentioned, the orthodox understanding of 'the weakness of the flesh' as a variable in sin is overshadowed in charismatic interpretations by the preoccupation with this cosmic battle ensnaring souls. Human agency is reduced to that of an intermediary 'standing in the gap' and appropriating the spiritual resources (in the name of Jesus) which is given immediate reality by the animating presence and work of the Spirit. It is this immediacy that sustains the belief in a direct channel of communication with God that is central to charismatic authority and experience. The sacraments, tarrying, and other practices are less important, although this belief can (and did) create an ambiguity in relation to the authority of the canon of Scripture. Does direct communication transcend the *sola scriptura* of the Reformers?

John MacArthur, a staunch critic of charismatic renewal, rejects *in toto* the authority of 'direct encounter' or experience. The sign gifts in the New Testament were, he claims, for the birth of the Church (and thereafter ceased):

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[40] Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience,* p. 20. This is reminiscent of William James's anecdotes in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (1902). For James, the 'cash-value' of an idea, including religious ideas, may be determined by inward conviction and inclination, so religious excitability is deemed valid, and rational on that basis.

> The truth is, there is no fresher or more intimate revelation than Scripture. God doesn't need to give us private revelation to help us in our walk with Him. ...Scripture is sufficient. It offers all we need for every good work.
>
> Christians on both sides of the charismatic fence must realize a vital truth: *God's revelation is complete for now.* The canon of Scripture is closed. ...[41]

Respected apologists however, such as Derek Prince approached Scripture, revelation and authority from a particular hermeneutical angle. In one of the earliest and most comprehensive attempts to ground the renewal on a firm basis (Prince's *Foundation Series*), the Bible is authoritative but its application finds embodiment in the lives of believers:

> As we study this divine program of victory over Satan, we see again that the Word occupies a central position. Without proper knowledge of the Word, we cannot understand the true merits and power of Christ's blood, and thus our testimony as Christians lacks real conviction and authority. The whole of God's program for His people centres around the knowledge of His word and the ability to apply it.[42]

In a later booklet, he draws a distinction critical for renewal: the difference between 'authority' and 'power':

> ...'authority' [he argues] is not the same as "power". The first disciples already had this authority from the time of Christ's resurrection onwards. They were already "sons of God". They were able to lead godly, overcoming lives. They were no longer slaves of sin. However, during the period from the resurrection to the day of Pentecost, these first disciples made very little positive impact upon the great majority of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. ...
>
> However, all this was abruptly changed by the descent of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. As soon as the 120 believers in the upper room were baptized in the Holy Spirit, the whole of Jerusalem immediately felt the impact. ...
>
> What produced these dramatic results? The adding of "power" to "authority".[43]
>
> *****
>
> Today, in many places, the conduct and experience of professing Christians are very different. ...They meet regularly in a church building for worship; they lead decent, respectable lives; they cause no trouble; they

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[41] MacArthur, *Charismatic Chaos*, p. 71, emphasis in original.

[42] *Foundations for Faith.* Book I (Fort Lauderdale: Derek Prince Publications, circa 1965-66), p. 63. These booklets (seven in all) were probably written when Prince lived in Canada (1962) or when he first moved to the United States in 1964. See 7.1.2, pp. 232-36 for more on Prince and the Foundation Series.

[43] Prince, *Purposes of Pentecost,* Book IV, p. 19

> provoke no riots; they arouse no opposition. But alas! [sic] they make no impact. ...
>
> What is lacking? The answer lies in one word: "power". The explosive dynamite of the Holy Spirit has been left out of Christians' lives. And nothing else can take its place.[44]

This leads to a case for 'baptism in the Spirit' as a precursor to experiencing 'power', and more importantly, for being fully equipped to perform effective witness and service. Prince concludes, 'the Greek word Paul uses is *dunamis*—dynamite—explosive power...The key to this spiritual power is the baptism in the Holy Spirit. For this, there is no substitute'.[45]

Aside from the epistemological grounds for questioning experience as a basis for truth (which on its own would be highly dubious), Prince and others advance a 'both-and' argument believing that God speaks to persons directly but not in contradiction to Scripture. This allows for central practices such as 'prophecy', 'words of knowledge', tongues and their interpretation to co-exist *alongside* the canon of Scripture ostensibly without undermining its authority. Charles Farah, for example, attempts to explain the tension by positing Scripture as the *logos,* or objective revelation, and *rhema*—personal experience—the subjective revelation.[46] The difficulty however, lies in the presupposition that the authority of Scripture is complete only when it finds embodiment in human experience. This has been strongly challenged by non-charismatics, notably by those of a Reformed persuasion. R. Fowler White, for example, has argued that:

> This new proposition states that God also speaks to His people today *apart* from the Bible, though he never speaks in contradiction to it. As qualified as this statement seems to be, few evangelicals today would question whether or not it is true. After all, if nothing that God may say today apart from the Scriptures actually *contradicts* what He has already said in the Scriptures, what is the big deal? Simply put, the big deal is whether or not it is actually true that God speaks to His people apart from the Bible. Is this new affirmation itself a contradiction of the Scriptures? [47]

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[44] *Ibid.*, p. 21.
[45] *Loc. cit.*
[46] Charles Farah, 'Toward a Theology of Healing', *Christian Life* (Vol. 38, September 1976), p. 78 (cited in MacArthur, *Charismatic Chaos,* pp. 45-46).
[47] R. Fowler White, 'Does God Speak Apart from the Bible?' in R. Kent Hughes, John MacArthur (Junior); Michael S. Horton, Albert Mohler, and John H. Armstrong (Ed) *The Coming Evangelical Crisis* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1996), p. 77.

White certainly believes so; 'consequently [he concludes], the church now lives by a 'Scripture only' principle of authority. To tamper with this principle invites a host of theological and pastoral problems'.[48] While this assessment would abjectly dismiss the experience of those affected by renewal as 'invalid', it was nonetheless true that the primacy of experience generated a raft of difficulties including issues of authority, theological paucity, disappointment with 'prophecies' that did not obtain, and instances where people died despite the 'prayer of faith', the 'laying on of hands' and other charismatic practices.

3.1.3. Historical Context

The desire to move beyond established ecclesiological boundaries is endemic to enthusiastic religious movements as is opposition encountered in the process. Each has its own characteristics and is (paradoxically) assisted by the opposition it attracts. The result is a unique brand of enthusiasm which may be dynamic, but is highly susceptible to the vagaries of leadership style, a volatility and tendency towards schism, and hyper-spirituality.

These elements were also present in the charismatic renewal. And again, there was a specific context giving rise to this enthusiasm in the 1960s. The counter culture of the West was fueled by disillusionment with modernity and a nascent post-modernity. As in the revivalistic periods of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, perspicacious Christian leaders of the post-1945 era were able to exploit pervasive fears about the future, technology and the mass media by radicalising the gospel message and making a response to its claims seem attractive, sensible and necessary.

New forms of religious expression appear in throughout church history, but in each case the dynamics and patterns are similar. In his analysis of Evangelical Non-conformist life in Britain in the eighteenth century, for example, Alan Gilbert has written on 'the amelioration of anomie':

> The obverse of anomie is a heightened demand for new associational and communal foci to replace those which have been lost...an industrial revolution "brings in its wake a proliferation of interest groups and

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

> associations". ...The social functions of a religious organisation are usually an important element within the complex of satisfactions which it offers its constituents, but their significance is increased greatly within a constituency experiencing anomie. Receptiveness to extra-Establishment religion was heightened in early industrial England because the exigencies of rapid social change made more pressing and more widespread fundamental social demands which Evangelical Nonconformist organisations, particularly, were well adapted to satisfy.[49]

This was also apparent after 1945 when the pace and extent of change was similar to the upheavals of earlier eras. Modern pentecostalism initially lacked the wide appeal and endearing style of the likes of Billy Graham, but as the 1960s began there was both optimism and pessimism, especially amongst youth who were overrepresented demographically (relative to other age groups). New religious constituencies emerged with a radicalism providing direct answers to the pessimism of the age as well as an optimism and hope perceived to be lacking in historic churches. As this influence began slowly to reach and impact those same churches, 'neo-pentecostalism' or the charismatic renewal was the result.

Closely related to the forces shaping the new enthusiasms, and as a consequence of them, the radicalised beliefs known as 'charismatic renewal' were themselves based on a very selective interpretation of history. In the push to be relevant, theological truths (inherited from diverse sources such as early Church creeds, the Reformation, the evangelical movements and revivalism) were reduced to simplistic dogmas. The atonement (for example) was extended to include physical (and later other forms of) healing. As experience would later prove however, there were many instances where prayer for healing did not produce the desired result, implying that the atoning work of Jesus (even in the power and unction of the Spirit), was insufficient. Those who experienced this type of disappointment were (not untypically) told they lacked faith or harboured unconfessed sin 'blocking' the move of God.[50]

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[49] A. D (Alan) Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England—Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914* (London: Longman, 1976), pages 89 and 90.

3.2. Essence and Dynamism

3.2.1. Characteristics of Charismatic Renewal

The 'essential elements' of charismatic renewal include: a Focus on Jesus, Praise, Love of the Bible, God Speaks Today, Evangelism, Awareness of Evil, Spiritual Gifts, Eschatological Expectation, and Spiritual Power.[51] These elements are virtually synonymous with modern pentecostalism but the denominational traditions onto which they were grafted meant nuances in emphasis and interpretation.[52]

The renewal revitalised evangelicalism's emphasis on the person and ministry of Jesus Christ. 'Jesus is Lord', as one writer puts it, is perhaps 'the most characteristic banner and slogan in Charismatic Renewal'.[53] The lordship of Christ is defining because other manifestations are a consequence of this belief.[54] The doctrine of the Incarnation upon which this rests understands the historical Jesus to be both fully divine and fully human[55] but the charismatic interpretation usually emphasised the divinity of Christ, perhaps as a consequence of the hyper-spirituality so pronounced in this type of enthusiasm.

What Karl Barth referred to as the 'holy other' of God[56] easily lost its balance in the renewal where slogans such as 'Jesus is Lord' and 'If He's not Lord *of* all, He's not Lord *at* all' frequently obscured the twin thrusts of divinity and humanity and their integration with the entirety of lived experience. But 'Jesus is Lord' seldom equated with a burning desire amongst charismatics to address 'social justice' issues. This was a weakness for the renewal as it had been for all

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[50] A number of comments to this effect were made during the oral interviews, and the writer has heard similar accounts from persons presently or formerly involved in charismatic churches.
[51] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, see pp. 155-56.
[52] 'The differences concern the framework, both ecclesiastical and theological, in which they occur, the social milieu being most penetrated'. Burgess et al., *Dictionary,* p. 156.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] This is echoed by Packer who adds that, 'Faith in, devotion to, and personal fellowship with the living Christ of Scripture are at the movement's heart'. *Keep in Step,* p. 185.
[55] This was formally defined at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 which affirmed 'the existence of One Person in Two natures, which are united unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly and inseperably'. E. A. Livingstone (Ed), *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 99.
[56] In the Dogmatics (*Die kirchliche Dogmatik*) Barth affirmed the Supremacy and Transcendence of God, whose infinite superiority to all human aspirations meant the worthlessness of human reason. *Ibid.,* p. 51.

forms of evangelicalism. Properly understood, the incarnation implied joint concern for social engagement and transformation as well as personal regeneration.

The next listed element, 'Praise', was almost invariably bracketed with 'worship' and 'music' within the charismatic tradition. The exuberance of Spirit baptism had an obvious response in song as a verification of Scriptures such as John 7 verse 38.[57] The charismatic believer had a new capacity to issue praise and give glory to God, as evident in the deluge of songs the renewal spawned. This aspect—arguably more than any other single variable—was the most obvious and accessible element of renewal. The music could either polarise or unite entire groups and congregations. Its style and development paralleled the rock genre of the 1960s and the broader cultural shift of the emerging 'generation gap'.[58] In Christchurch, the 'Festival of Praise' was an important annual event bringing large numbers of charismatics together in public displays of unity and witness. These developed into regional gatherings by the late 1970s.[59] The music at these and other charismatic meetings was a major departure from hymns, choirs and organs and in encouraging creativity and spontaneity, although these elements were not completely unprecedented in the mission church tradition.

A 'Love of the Bible' was also central and in this regard as well there was a strong tradition inherited from evangelicalism and revivalism. Unlike those in pentecostal sects, charismatics generally had long traditions of scholarship within their denominations and even if that history was selectively interpreted or ignored, it was nonetheless present. Renewal leaders (both lay and ordained) worked *within* their traditions despite the tension of living with the past while accepting the challenge to transform it. Where a more biblicist and literal interpretation was adopted the renewal approximated fundamentalism, but in accord with the wider goal of unity, a charismatic love of the Bible tended to be positive rather than divisive. This difference was clearly apparent in Christchurch

[57] "Whosoever believes in me, as the Scripture has said, streams of living water will flow from within him".
[58] As one commentator put it, 'the emphasis was on the gift of love, certainly not the free love of the 1960s, but nonetheless carrying a gentle resonance of the hippy [sic] movement'. Andrew Wilson-Dickson, *A Brief History of Christian Music* (Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1997), p. 412.
[59] Sectors of the city would meet separately, but also combine, often with charismatic prayer groups as well.

in 1969 where a very public but short-lived 'Crusade to Preserve Biblical Christianity' was organised and resourced by a fundamentalist group reacting to the inroads of liberalism.[60] Sponsors of this campaign claimed to be motivated by a 'love of the Bible' but theirs was not the positive expression promoted by charismatics.[61]

Charismatic interpretations of 'God Speaks Today' transcended typical evangelical interpretations linked directly to Scripture. There was, in addition, an on-going and personal revelation aligned to the primacy of experience. The level of intimacy and expectation often exceeded that of even the most ardent of evangelicals:

> This experience of God speaking is experienced as intrinsic to knowing God as a loving Father who converses with his children and opens up his inheritance to them. Although personal messages from the Lord to believers often attract attention, experience in charismatic renewal in general confirms John 16: 13-15, that what God most wants to reveal through the Holy Spirit is his Son and his saving plan for creation centered in Jesus.[62]

Suspicion of continuous and extra revelation was precisely the opposition of the deists in the seventeenth century, and it found a parallel in modern critics of charismatic renewal, notably contemporary American author John MacArthur.[63] Notwithstanding such criticism, the idea that 'God Speaks Today' remained central to all charismatic belief and practice.

The next element is 'Evangelism', and again, any received understanding is significantly added to; that others can (and should) experience the joy of conversion *and* Spirit baptism, tongues and other 'blessings', was axiomatic. These outcomes, while not replacing the basic requirements of evangelicalism, provided a different perspective on them. 'Awareness of Evil' is also central to

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[60] This was the 'Canterbury Consultative Committee Associated with the International Council of Christian Churches', and among the speakers was the well-known American fundamentalist, Carl McIntire.

[61] See the display advertisements 'Bible Christianity Under Attack' and 'Will Bible Christianity Survive?' *The Press*, Saturday 12 April (p. 24), and 19 April 1969 (p. 23). These were detailed statements aimed at all churches who had embraced 'modernity'. Of the ecumenical movement, it was said in the latter advertisement that it 'was turning the church into a human institution to be ordered and directed by men free from the restrictions of the Holy Scriptures'.

[62] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 156.

[63] See above 3.1.2, p. 71.

the orthodox and historic faith, but again, the focus in charismatic thought and practice is towards a hyper-demonology issuing from a wider ultra-spiritualism.[64]

Closely aligned was the exercise of 'Spiritual Gifts'. The demonstrative 'sign' gifts in 1 Corinthians were especially valued,[65] despite being a potential source of division. Other hermeneutical interpretations lacked the distinction charismatics made between 'sign' and 'practical' gifts. This tension was keenly felt but had to be addressed for the renewal to make inroads at both the parish and denominational levels. Like other enthusiasms, a natural tendency was to emphasise sign gifts (and those bearing them), rather than see equal validity in practical and less spectacular aspects of service.

Charismatics shared the wider evangelical sense of 'eschatological expectation' with an increased longing for the *Parousia*. Most were intuitively premillennial, although some later variants embraced postmillennialism believing a more active work of restoration needed to characterise the work of the saints than the 'salt' and 'light' activities of other believers.

The final element is 'Spiritual Power'. This was part of the cluster of defining elements rather than mutually exclusive of them. The precise meaning of 'power' was context-specific. At various times it referred to the direct power of spiritual confrontation (as in 'deliverance'), the power (as in direct authority) to pray for another person; power to achieve spiritual feats ('my arms can bend a bow of bronze'), or simply the ability to persevere in the face of temptation or suffering.

To a greater or lesser degree these elements defined the broad parameters of charismatic renewal. Both singularly and collectively they constituted a loosely-defined theology of belief and practice.

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[64] There is however, wide variation in charismatic churches. The range of practice extends from simple acknowledgement and awareness of Satan , through to a fixation on 'the powers of darkness'.

[65] See 1 Corinthians 12 verses 8 to 11. The sign gifts include prophecy, tongues (and interpretation), word of knowledge, discernment of spirits and healing, while the practical gifts are faith, wisdom, helps and hospitality. Most charismatics believed that: '...During periods of renewal,... spiritual gifts operated with greater frequency. The Lord seems to be increasing their occurrence...because our need for them is so great. It is obvious that we are in an age of crisis for the church. ...The church needs the spiritual gifts now to meet the challenge of our unbelieving, technological society'. Clark, *Baptized in the Spirit*, p. 142.

3.2.2. Variables of Growth

In contrast to nominal religious expressions (but in common with other enthusiasms), charismatic renewal is about excitability and direct spiritual engagement to which there are many facets and interpretations. Several disciplines and sub-disciplines provide insights into renewal, including empirical sociological studies accounting for the quantitative growth of charismatic groups. A brief digression into this literature and in particular, that relating to New Religious Movements (NRMs) is instructive in identifying variables of growth.

One example of the widely-used NRM approach is offered by Canadian sociologist John Hannigan. Hannigan compared NRMs and New Social Movements (NSMs). Drawing upon earlier studies and his own research, Hannigan begins comparing 'old sects' with NRMs. Citing a 1981 study, the latter he says, characteristically exhibit:

> ...exotic provenance; new cultural lifestyle; a level of engagement different from that of traditional church Christianity; charismatic leadership; [and] a following predominantly young and in disproportionate measure from the better-educated and middle class sections of society; ...
>
> As such, the NRMs are thought to be challenges to the rational humanistic religiosity embodied in the dominant liberal denominational Christianity. Rather than rational thought and analysis, the NRMs have substituted a search for authentic values generated by intense experience. Furthermore, the NRMs have frequently attacked the "spiritual hierarchies" which are characteristic of the "old religions".[66]
>
> *****
>
> NRMs are depicted as having in common an "emotional and experiential thrust." This is exhibited in the emphasis [on] the shift from religious belief to the "direct experience of the sacred." [67]

The renewal displayed most if not all of these characteristics. 'Exotic provenance' was certainly true. The New Zealand renewal drew on an eclectic mix of sources: traditional and contemporary pentecostalism from America and Australia; buoyant local expressions such as that in the Full Gospel Indigenous 'stream',

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[66] John A. Hannigan, 'Apples and Oranges or Varieties of the Same Fruit? The New Religious Movements and the New Social Movements Compared'. *Review of Religious Research* (Vol. 31, No. 3, March 1990), p. 247.

[67] *Ibid.* Hannigan postulates (p. 246) that, 'While seemingly opposite in both structure and outlook [NRMs and NSMs] can [both] be conceptualized as the result of the eroding boundaries between the private and public domains in the contemporary world'. This would appear to be true also for New Zealand in the 1960s .

and of course, the new evangelicalism and the pioneering work of the influential English charismatics of the mid-1960s (for example, Arthur Wallis, Campbell McAlpine and Michael Harper).

The renewal also offered a level of engagement, lifestyle and leadership that was generally absent in denominational church life. It revolutionised what it meant to be 'a believer'; what 'Christian community' meant, and in people such as Morrow, had dynamic leadership. This matured with the advent of CAM and its role in servicing the denominational churches in Christchurch and beyond. There was a confluence of other variables as well: the maturation of baby boomers and a counter-culture fed by music, fashion and television; the relatively cordial spirit bridging the Protestant-Catholic divide in Christchurch, as well as the precedent (albeit formal and structural) of a type of ecumenism evident in the work of the NCC. These were predisposing factors assisting the renewal in Christchurch. Hannigan's other points concerning experience/immanence and the response to formalism are similar to those alluded to earlier in Knox and Middlemiss's descriptions of enthusiasm.

No single variable can account for the growth of such a complex phenomenon, but the mid-1960s represented a favourable moment enabling the renewal to make an immediate and significant impact on the life of several churches.

In summary, Hannigan sees that NRMs characteristically 1. emphasise an intuitive style of consciousness (direct revelation rather than reflection and study), 2. possess a charismatic [sic], authoritarian leadership (authoritative and confident may be more accurate in describing the early Christchurch scene), 3. exhibit a 'normative' style of interaction, (the renewal proscribed and condoned certain ways of thinking and behaviour and developed its own vernacular) and 4. feature a social learning which is individual-directed and which 'imposes' new norms and identities (teaching was directed at personal spiritual renewal and forging the new identity of being a 'Spirit-filled' believer).

3.2.3. The Appeal of Perpetual Renewal

'Renewal' implies a continual sense of newness. In its purest guise, it suggests expanding spiritual vistas, depths of encounter and experience. In Knox's scheme it would represent enthusiasm *par excellence.* As mentioned, perfection or sanctification could be obtained and experienced now, but there was always something more. The excitement associated with these joint understandings accounts for its appeal but as discussed, it also laid the renewal open to serious theological error.

Pentecost itself represented the birth of the Church and the hope of the *Eschaton* (the Age to Come). A measure of righteousness, health and prosperity for believers is evident in Paul's epistles, but the tension between the new and promised hope, and the consequences of the fallen world (the Old or former Age) are still apparent in disease, sickness and physical death; these are endemic to human experience—even in its regenerate or 'saved' form. This position has roots in a fuller understanding of the Incarnation than most (particularly early) charismatics would have acknowledged. Salvation in the Pauline texts is both an ontological reality ('Blessed Assurance') as well as *becoming*—the 'not yet complete' factor. More mature charismatic teaching tended to embrace the blessings of the future kingdom as it had *already* been manifest through the Holy Spirit, along with an eager *expectation* of the Second Coming, although variants and different emphases were apparent.

Despite there always being 'something more', the renewal was not, in a physical or organisational sense, self-sustaining. It required continual input, teaching and inspiration, as well as praise, expressions of unity, and ministry opportunities. Without these it failed to be a viable and satisfying alternative to the formalism its adherents sought to distance themselves from. To this end concerted efforts were needed to service the renewal and maintain its innovation. Perfunctory religion does not require the reservoir of energy needed by enthusiastic movements. The number and calibre of visiting speakers coming to Christchurch

illustrates just how intentional local church leaders were to ensure the vision for renewal was co-ordinated and kept alive.[68]

By the 1980s however, some of this sustaining energy had waned, and while overseas speakers continued to service the renewal and steer it along new paths, the excitement was blunted by encroaching moral and political realities and a consequent requirement for engagement. These were among the factors heralding a change in fortunes for the renewal in Christchurch and elsewhere.

3.3. Endemic and Potential Problems

3.3.1. Internal Tensions

An analogy can be employed to explain charismatic renewal. A meteorite is a stellar apparition which makes a sudden and brilliant appearance. It has enormous thrust and trajectory, but its internal energy is finite and that reality combined with external impediments in its pathway will dissipate energy and facilitate break up and eventual oblivion.

To explain a complex social and religious phenomenon in this manner runs the risk of oversimplification; analogies are limiting because they do not correspond directly to the reality or history of the phenomenon, which limits their ability to explain adequately (*explanandum*). Nonetheless, useful parallels can be drawn, and in the example of renewal, the meteorite analogy is conceptually helpful.

Renewal appeared with a brilliance and energy akin to the 'birth' of a meteorite. The internal forces of experiential theology, immanence and spiritual unction produced considerable 'trajectory' (energy and impact on individual believers, parishes, entire denominations and beyond). Unlike a meteorite however, the energy was replenished along the 'journey'. Praise, opportunities for service, visiting speakers and 'fellowship' provided new vigour. Sustaining such input however, was difficult and eventually internal momentum and external resistance facilitated morphological change and a decline in energy relative to

[68] See 7.2.2 and 7.2.3, pp. 245-57.

the mid-1970s. This was evident when the tensions of the early 1980s created doubt and reflection, while the external forces of an increasingly polarised political and economic context affected enthusiasm by drawing charismatics and other conservatives into the public arena for which many were ill-equipped. The unity and forward momentum was, it will be argued, lost at that juncture, despite the appearance of many new teachings and attractive variants of renewal.

It is clear from a discussion of Knox and Middlemiss that enthusiastic religious cultures are vulnerable. Indigenous variables (along with exogenous ones such as criticism), create tension because not only must original energies be maintained, but growth and development require *additional* energy as well. It will become obvious however, that critical problems facing renewal were ultimately traceable to theological inconsistencies. An eclectic religious phenomenon swept along by the excitement of its participants made presuppositional claims which, quite simply, failed to withstand serious theological scrutiny as well as the practical demands of lived experience. Had there been a more rigorous set of ideas to guide it in the first instance, its leadership at all levels might have dealt with the internal issues as well as external threats with greater confidence.

3.3.2. External Challenges

As discussed, renewal created two 'classes' of believers: those baptised in the Spirit, and those not. This created discord between individuals and pressure on parish leaders to embrace and adopt renewal practices. As will be demonstrated at Hornby Presbyterian, difficulties could be resolved over time, but this was not always the case. At Opawa Baptist, for example, the idea of 'second class' believers—for that was how opponents perceived the renewal—never entirely went away and served only to upset an otherwise thriving and vital evangelical church. A different set of dynamics manifest at Sydenham AOG, where, being an established pentecostal church, it was not the expression of the gifts or the issue of Sprit baptism that caused controversy, rather the frustrations of the traditional constituency who felt alienated when the pastor focused on the new

converts streaming into the church as a result of the wider charismatic renewal in the early 1970s.

For those seeking to successfully renew their parish or denomination it proved necessary to move slowly and with sensitivity. Denominational change in particular took time and absorbed much energy; the Presbyterians for example, first raised the issue of 'whether modern pentecostalism has something to teach us' as early as 1967 but it was many years before a group officially sanctioned by the Assembly to promote the renewal, was formed (1982), and by then some of the initial impetus was diminishing.

The inroads of an advancing secular culture and liberal theology were further external threats. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the latter did, in fact, augur well for the renewal; it contained a demonstrative 'power' dimension which had appeal in the face of rather 'dry' theological arguments of the new theology. In a similar manner and for the same reason, the renewal also provided a religious response to the quest for transcendent experience which was an aspect of the youth counter-culture of the 1960s.

There remained however, the challenge of linking renewal with social transformation. The focus on personal renewal, like the evangelicalism from which it came, offered a weak framework for understanding the complexities of culture and providing strategies for social change. Even the topics addressed at the very successful CAM Summer Schools—a central source of teaching and inspiration—did not adequately reflect a frame of reference for responding beyond the individual and parish level. Consequently, when issues of social and political interest arose the voice of the church was divided, with liberal theologians and leaders generally better able to better articulate their concerns.

Opposition to the 1981 Springbok rugby tour, for example, drew strong solidarity and support from other sectors of the church, as did support for the 1985 Homosexual Law Reform Bill.[69] Echoing the social gospellers of previous decades, modernist-liberals, within the postmillennialist tradition expected the

[69] See 8.3.1, pp. 301-03.

kingdom of God to be realised on earth by the steady advance of Christian values.[70] This readily translated into support for prevailing political issues and mobilisation for causes. But it was a stance very different to evangelical and charismatic understandings where personal conversion or even Spirit baptism were considered the precursor to all transformational change.

This inability to respond drew attention away from personal spirituality and demanded new approaches, but the intellectual and theological framework for this was lacking. Consequently, the expressions of renewal that flourished in the 1980s tended to be niche teachings directed at particular *personal* needs (for example, John Wimber). There was not the overall unity and impulsion in 1985 that had characterised the life and witness of the renewal a decade before.

3.3.3. Theological Issues

With reference to the renewal Nigel Wright has written that 'once a movement adopts a promotional style and gains momentum, it must find energy from somewhere to keep it going'.[71] Not surprisingly over an extended period, the nature and character of renewal evolved and adapted. Much emphasis was placed upon the insights of a 'new' teacher or teaching.

Accompanying this dynamism however, were theological complications which tended to compound in complexity. Indeed, as the foregoing analysis illustrates, from the first and most basic presuppositions of charismatic interpretation, significant philosophical and theological questions were present. The so-called discipleship controversy of the 1970s is an example.[72] In essence, this was an issue of authority and submission; another is Wright's analysis of Wimber's 'prophetic' emphasis. Both cases revealed the theological imprecision that the renewal tended to ignore in favour of maintaining populist momentum. Some of

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[70] See Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (p. 216) for a discussion of this difference in England during the 1920s.
[71] Nigel Wright, 'The Rise of the Prophetic', in Tom Smail, Andrew Walker and Nigel Wright, *Charismatic Renewal—The Search for a Theology* (London: Gospel and Culture, 1995), p. 117.
[72] See 8.1.1, pp. 270-72.

these problems are shared by (and common to) other expressions of religious enthusiasm, while others are related specifically to the renewal.[73]

Deist opposition to religious enthusiasm was the core of John Locke's epistemological defence for 'a reasonable faith' where he argued the primacy of reason over revelation. The importance of epistemology for 'the inwardness tradition' is that it elevates subjectivity and intuition over other measures of objective knowing. Within enthusiastic religions, one has to believe and experience in order to understand and this has a cumulative efficacy of increasing desire for further experience. Enthusiasm relies upon an approach to knowledge which is captured in Anselm's dictum 'I believe in order to understand' (*credo ut intelligam*). Such a position is untenable for either empiricists or rationalists astride each side the traditional epistemological divide. In simple terms, there are no philosophically rigorous grounds for *knowing* when experience itself is the main criterion. This was (and remains) an issue for the charismatic renewal.

Along with evangelicalism, revivalism and pentecostalism, the charismatic renewal relied upon the centrality of revelation (direct revelation in this instance) and a received belief that faith did not originate as a philosophical movement primarily aimed at the intelligentsia, but as something clear and imaginative with universal appeal. As will become evident in this study where accounts of those profoundly affected by the renewal are provided, epistemological questions were of no moment nor did they get in the way of the spiritual 'dryness' that led many to embrace renewal. Only as time went by were more searching questions seriously considered and then, primarily by prominent leaders, clergy and theologians, not by most ordinary believers.

Equally important were Trinitarian considerations raised by enthusiastic religious expressions, most of which give pre-eminence to the work and person of the Holy Spirit. This in turn, raises hermeneutical questions about the relationship in Scripture between the members of the Godhead. The three-in-one, eternally co-existent Godhead has been the subject of significant debate in Church history

[73] See Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience*, for more detailed treatment of these problems.

resulting, not infrequently, in credal reaffirmations. The Athanasian, Nicene and Apostles' Creeds for example, are all authoritative and freely endorsed by charismatics, although in practice the emphasis was upon the third member of the Godhead, resulting in a diminished appreciation of the central *relationship* of the Trinity. An over-active or contrived pneumatology was common, in spite of the fact charismatics promoted a high Christology. While a unitarian emphasis was always possible, charismatic believers generally honoured the Trinity. Although not widely promoted in charismatic circles, the consummate expression of Trinitarian unity is contained in the Athanasian Creed when it speaks of 'the Catholic [sic] faith is this, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; Neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the Substance. For there is one Person in the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost'.

Returning to Wright's observation about morphological tendencies, this was clearly apparent in the eschatology of renewal. In its initial forms the renewal inherited a premillennialism and, along with pentecostalism, was unique in viewing the outpouring of the Spirit as itself a fulfillment of end-time prophecy. Eschatology was another fertile arena for charismatic excess and crude reductionism. Premillennialism for example, was not a monolith but consisted of two main categories (historicist and futurist versions). Illustrating the polemical nature of the concept:

> Futurists may be further divided into pretribulationists and posttribulationists. Most Pentecostals [and charismatics] have followed the prevailing view of the late-nineteenth century prophetic conference movement, expecting the rapture, or removal, of the church prior to a time of tribulation. Some, however, continue to expect the church to remain through the Great Tribulation until the return of Christ to set up an earthly kingdom. A smaller segment envisions a rapture in the middle of the Great Tribulation, the midtribulationist view. The doctrine of pretribulation rapture has allowed Pentecostals [and charismatics] on the one hand to pessimistically preach impending doom with 'wars and rumors of wars' as a sign of the end, while on the other hand optimistically offering 'the blessed hope' of the rapture of the church.[74]

While the complex nature of the concept is beyond doubt, the practical interpretation was simplistic but expedient; pre-tribulation rapture, while not exclusively 'owned' by pentecostals and charismatics added considerable

[74] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 264.

emotional weight to their calls for 'radical' Christianity. *The Late Great Planet Earth* was the apotheosis of premillennial texts when it appeared in 1970. It boded well for the charismatic cause by combining fear and hope. In his closing 'prophetic' remarks—written in a direct and authoritative style—Lindsay speaks of 'the religious scene' in a chapter entitled 'polishing the crystal ball'. In a paragraph that would appear in direct support of an approach such as charismatic renewal, he writes:

> Some traditional churches have learned to provide the personal ministry of God's truth to the youth and you will find their youth departments are flourishing. But they are the exception, unfortunately. Most churches seem to be on the wrong wavelength altogether. Some have the truth but can't communicate it to today's youth; others simply don't teach the truth, and though they try "underground church" [nominalistic] approaches, they can't compete with the radical political organizations.[75]

Here, as elsewhere in Lindsay's writings, the urgency of the message resulted in pared-down renderings of important theological dogmas. The need to communicate the message simply left little room for reflection or reasoned response. This type of material fed into other understandings of that period concerning the experiential nature of faith, the 'necessary' divide between 'head' and 'heart', the case for separate community and even asceticism. During its rise the tension within the renewal between the premillennial juxtaposing of 'doom and hope' was a powerful tool for preaching, teaching and missionary outreach.

Summary

The charismatic renewal embodied the characteristic features, strengths and weaknesses typical of other expressions of enthusiastic religion. Primitive spirituality has historically meant trying to replicate events connected with the Birth of the Church and the Apostolic Age. This quest has consumed religious enthusiasts and captured the imagination of numerous groups and sects. Fueling such beliefs have been frustrations and reactions to the perceived formalism evident in the methods, life and worship of the established church.

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[75] Lindsay, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, p. 172.

With charismatic enthusiasm, 'baptism in the Spirit'—a second 'blessing'—was primary and the point of entry into the radicalised Christian life. The renewed relationship with the Godhead was manifest in lived experience, particularly in 'fellowship' with like-minded believers. The intimacy that flowed from these relationships was real, experiential and on-going through direct communication with God and an animated 'life in the Spirit'.

In many ways charismatic renewal eclipsed the excitement of the new evangelicalism because it maintained fervour well beyond a 'decision for Christ' which was the apogee of the mass evangelistic rallies. Like other historical periods where radicalised belief has been influential (for example, the Reformation and the evangelicalism of the Great Awakening), wider historical variables were critical in the coming of renewal. By the early 1960s the need for spiritual invigoration was beginning to be felt in the denominational churches in New Zealand as elsewhere in the West. The renewal was a child of its time, although some of its early leaders concentrated on their spiritual task and tended to have a selective and limited understanding of church history. The experiential thrust also masked the importance of a rigorous theology of renewal. This was later to prove a major weakness.

A history of inter-church co-operation (including formal ecumenism) was almost certainly a factor in the rapid growth and expansion of the renewal in Christchurch in the mid-1960s, although a more conspicuous variable was the personality and ministry of Pastor Peter Morrow, an independent Full Gospel preacher and evangelist who arrived in the city in 1962. Morrow's subsequent activities bore the hallmarks of what has been called in the sociological literature a 'New Religious Movement'.

Exciting testimonies, combined praise meetings, new music, communal living and the felt synergy of Christian unity carried the renewal so far. But the theological and social issues of the late 1970s and early 1980s, along with a growing urgency to meaningfully respond slowed momentum. Like a meteorite that appears in the night sky with considerable brilliance and trajectory, internal energy wanes, external resistance increases and the result is an eventual dissipation and decline. By the mid-1980s the charismatic renewal in

Christchurch was a microcosm of the wider national and international renewal and in disarray. The tremendous unity and energy evident just a decade before was ebbing, this despite several new expressions emerging at that juncture.

The following chapter explores the person and ministry of Peter Morrow. As mentioned, his work was pivotal to the Christchurch story and the manner in which the renewal subsequently developed.

Chapter 4

'Drainpipes for Jesus'
Peter Morrow and the Revival Fellowship

This chapter combines a biographical account of Pastor Peter Morrow with an analysis of his work and contribution to the charismatic renewal in Christchurch.

Morrow was a key figure in the expansion of pentecostalism in New Zealand (particularly in relation to the New Life churches), but the focus here is on his contribution to the renewal in Christchurch. This, it should be noted, was not a separate or premeditated goal, but a consequence of Morrow's overarching vision for the 'one Church that meets in many parts of the city'.[1] He was neither an organiser nor an administrator, but his ability to gain rapport, reach across sectarian boundaries and build unity, as well as his teaching and ministry links throughout New Zealand and overseas was possibly without equal, and certainly decisive on the character and development of the local charismatic renewal. His passion was unity and he allegedly spoke of disciples as 'drainpipes for Jesus'—fairly utilitarian 'vessels' through which the greater glory of God 'flowed'.[2]

Morrow's life is therefore an appropriate place to begin the Christchurch story proper. As the initial centre of gravity Morrow and his wife Anne were highly effective in presenting aspects of pentecostal belief and practice to those in the historic churches. In so doing, their work inaugurated what, up to that time, had only been occasionally referred to as 'neo-pentecostalism', and something that happened elsewhere—but not in Christchurch.

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[1] Anne Morrow explained this as a diverse Christian body 'unified in the things of the Spirit', rather than a new denomination or group. Anne Morrow interview, 12 March 2001. A list of topics issued to participants prior to the audio-taped interviews appears in the Appendix. This guide was worded more for charismatics than pentecostals.

[2] A text for this is 2 Corinthians, Chapter 4, verse 7: 'But we have this treasure in jars of clay to show that this all-surpassing power is from God and not from us'.

4.1. Early Life and Influences

4.1.1. Formative Years

Continuing briefly the analysis of New Religious Movements introduced in the previous chapter, Benton Johnson, another sociologist working in this area, has written specifically on the importance of founders and their personality in being able to respond effectively to changing conditions. Where this is the case, religious movements tend to achieve stability, and if not, face the prospect of oblivion:

> It seems likely that the NRMs with the best prospects for longevity are those whose founders want them to last and who, in addition to whatever their charismatic [sic] qualities they may have, either possess some of the qualities of a good CEO or are willing to allow their staffs a great deal of initiative in forming policy. Such founders facilitate the process of routinization. If their movements are to survive and achieve stability, they must have a change of temper that permits their retinue to take over, or they must be displaced in some way. ...[3]

In relation to this summary and the charismatic renewal in Christchurch, Peter Morrow was a reluctant 'leader'; he was no 'CEO', nor was he acting with dogged determination to a clear plan. He was however, a natural encourager of others, and allowed his staff 'a great deal of initiative'. His faith in others and lack of defensiveness (or 'empire-building') were among the keys to his leadership, and in turn, the success of the renewal. He initiated a style of ministry that combined preaching with exhortation, prayer for others and the laying on of hands. And he lived by the example of fasting and prayer. Morrow consistently told those from other churches to take what God had done for them back to their own churches and groups. This set the renewal in motion.

Peter McCallum Morrow was born in Concord West, Sydney, Australia on 10 June 1930. Despite the Depression and being the youngest (by nine years) of two boys in the family, it appears he had a generally happy and well-adjusted

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[3] Benton Johnson, 'On Founders and Followers—Some Factors in the Development of New Religious Movements' *Sociological Analysis*, Vol. 53, No. S [sic], Supplement 1992, p. S12.

childhood.[4] His brother, Jack, was of a scholarly disposition while Peter tended to be more 'arty than sporty'. In many ways the brothers were 'chalk and cheese', but Peter had a particularly close and loving relationship with his mother. There were family links with the Anglican Church which would have provided Peter with an introduction to the Christian faith.[5] This and his later acceptance to train for ministry within that tradition brought an understanding of those who worked for change in historic churches. It would also prove significant in Christchurch where Morrow was a reservoir of encouragement for clergy and lay leaders seeking to integrate aspects of renewal into congregational and wider church life.[6]

Morrow left secondary school at sixteen to work in a Sydney advertising agency, and it was there that a colleague, a young Christian woman, began to witness to him. Anne Morrow recalls:

> She was a very good witness to Peter, although he used to drive her crazy. "That Morrow fellow!" she would say, and she would some days come home in tears. In the advertising studio they used to mock one another a bit, and he used to draw her on soapboxes and things like that.[7]

Despite this, Morrow had a growing personal awareness of the Christian faith. His conversion experience the following year (1947) occurred returning from an Anglican camp when he believed God spoke to him. He then developed a love for others which, in part, grew from the excellent childhood relationship he had enjoyed with his mother. The salvation experience transformed the teenager who, as a frequent hitchhiker, now discovered an outlet for his faith and emerging gift as an evangelist. Anne recounts that:

> Peter had...such a desire to be led by the Spirit. ...He'd just turn up; he'd get a leading to go somewhere and come out the next morning and say "Look, I'm just off, I think God wants me to go!" And he'd just set off and

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[4] Preparation of this study coincided with a period in which Morrow's health had deteriorated and unfortunately, he was not available to be interviewed. However, Anne and others who worked closely with him were main sources of the biographical information contained in this section.

[5] Sydney Anglicanism was generally evangelical at this time; as in other places the impact of liberal theology of the 1960s was still some years hence.

[6] Pentecostal leaders in Christchurch, as elsewhere in New Zealand in the formative years of the 1950s and sixties had links with the historic churches. The importance of this is easily overlooked in favour of the more common and perhaps obvious view in which charismatic renewal is seen as a consequence of pentecostal growth.

[7] Morrow interview, 12 March 2001.

> sometimes he would come back earlier than planned, other times not; he was a free-ranger. ...He was a real evangelist in those days.[8]

As will be evident throughout this chapter, these twin traits—being an itinerant and having a 'passion for the lost'—were never to leave Morrow. Indeed, they were the hallmarks of his ministry.

Following his stint in advertising, Morrow trained as a teacher and taught at the Church of Christ Grammar School in the Blue Mountains where he also served as a housemaster. It was around this time he applied for and was accepted as a candidate for the Anglican ministry. A significant person in this decision was Geoffrey Bingham who, Anne Morrow claimed, 'had a profound influence on Peter'.[9]

Bingham was subsequently a very noted Anglican evangelical and evangelist. As an 'almost' charismatic,[10] he was later the Principal of Adelaide Bible Institute and a noted conference speaker, particularly throughout Asia. Bingham's Church Missionary Society experience in Pakistan led to his appointment as the Founding Principal of the Bible Institute in that country. Morrow's links with him continued when in July 1974 Bingham was a visiting preacher at the Revival Fellowship,[11] this being a return visit from June the previous year when he had been in Christchurch on a visit sponsored by the FGBMFI.[12] He was among a large number of eminent Australian ministers and pastors with whom Morrow maintained contact and was instrumental in bringing to Christchurch.[13]

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[8] Morrow interview, 4 May 2001.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] This comes from an account of Anglican renewal in Australia (author not shown, possibly Mark Hutchinson), *Working Papers,* Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, Series 1, No. 14, October 1993, p. 5.
[11] The name 'Revival Fellowship' dates from late 1962, 'New Life Centre' from 1970, and 'Majestic House'/'New Life Centre', from 1980.
[12] From June 6 to 8 1973 Bingham spoke at a week of 'Interchurch Fellowship Gatherings' including separate meetings at St. Aidan's Anglican (in Bryndwr) and St. John's Latimer Square. *The Press,* 2 June 1973, p. 20. The 1974 meetings were at the Revival Centre from 2 to 4 July. *The Press,* 15 June 1974, p. 17.
[13] The list in the 1970s included: Frank Houston, Paul and Bunty Collins, Hal Oxley, David Jackson, Leon Morris, Neville Johnson, Lloyd Averill, Alan Langstaff, Clark Taylor, Leo Harris, Kevin Connor, Howard

4.1.2. The Jacksons, Bible School and Doctrinal Influences

Although accepted to train for the Anglican ministry, Morrow met and began associating with Ray and David Jackson, a father and son (respectively) both heavily involved with pentecostal ministries. The Jacksons were familiar with contemporary American pentecostalism including the Latter Rain teachings, the healing ministries of Gordon Lindsay and Oral Roberts, and the prophetic outreaches of William Branham. While highly controversial, these developments, were responsible for the phenomenal appeal of pentecostalism after World War II and came to characterise its influence throughout the West, including Australia. So far as developments in New Zealand were concerned, the American influence did not overshadow in importance the contribution of the early Australian pastors, including the Jacksons and Morrow.

Early in his association with the Jacksons, Morrow was introduced to the baptism of the Holy Spirit. New dimensions of ministry then opened up, as did his links with pentecostal leaders. In an article written on the occasion of Morrow's marriage to Anne (in 1964), it was said that Peter was 'formerly an Anglican, and realising his hunger for God was not being satisfied, he sought and received the baptism of the Holy Ghost and from that time has gone forward in his ministry'.[14]

Ray Jackson moved to Auckland from the United States to work as an independent pastor in 1945, but left New Zealand in 1951 to pioneer similar works in Sydney and Melbourne including the establishment of a Bible School.[15] His movements were strategically important because through him Morrow became connected with senior leaders both in Australia and the United States. Also, Jackson's familiarity with the New Zealand scene may have contributed to Morrow's decision to visit later in the decade. However the remaining years in Australia were given to further preparation. A trip with the Jacksons to America

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Carter, Kindah Greening, Steve Ryder and Trevor Chandler. New Life records, Morrow correspondence.

[14] *Gospel Truth*, n.d. This publication would appear to be of Australian origin and possibly published by the independent pentecostal churches. The article on Anne and Peter Morrow's wedding comes from a loose-leaf file in the New Life records.

[15] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 298. He also notes (p. 297) that Jackson shared in the Latter Rain teaching during visits to America.

'for probably about a year' in the early 1950s[16] provided an opportunity to observe 'several big name' ministries of that era.[17] Another more personal reason for coming may have been a 'vision' Morrow is said to have received before leaving Australia. This was 'of wild horses running around the [Cashmere] hills in Christchurch and his calling was to tame them'.[18]

The grounding at Ray Jackson's Bible School in Sydney and the consequent visits to America had introduced Morrow to the foundational doctrines of the Bethel Temple and Latter Rain movements.

The Bethel Temple teachings consisted of a set of revelatory beliefs mainly centred on dispensational types, or typologies. The importance of revelation was paramount. In a seminal 'textbook' by W. H. Offlier in 1946 it was noted in the preface that:

> These studies do not follow any of the usual lines of modern Bible teaching, for much of the subject matter has come to the author by the direct revelation of the Holy Spirit of God. ...The present course of study covers a list of one hundred and twenty intensely interesting Bible subjects...in these outlines will be found subject matter for many hundreds of sermons and Bible teachings, always fresh, and wet with the Dew of Heaven! ...[19]
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> *****
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> The 'Time of the End', the 'Times of the Gentiles', the 'Seventy Weeks' of Daniel and all other measurements of time prophecy, can be worked out on the chart[20] with God-like precision. The Flood, The Covenants with Abraham, The Offering of Isaac, The Passover. The Wilderness Journeyings, The Crossing of the Red Sea, The Crossing of the Jordan, are

[16] Morrow interview, 12 March, 2001.
[17] Among those mentioned to the writer are Jack Coe and A. A. Allen, but these reports are unconfirmed. Certainly Morrow would have been aware of these people and their ministries by reputation if not from first-hand experience.
[18] This was recounted by a former member of the Revival Fellowship, Jeffrey McNeill, in a telephone interview, 16 May 2001. Its veracity is difficult to establish, but Morrow was given to 'the prophetic'. McNeill claimed to know Morrow 'extremely well' and believed his insights were 'a blessing for my late wife Muriel, who, as an angina sufferer from her mid-life years, was told by Morrow that God was well pleased with her gift of hospitality and open love for others and that she would live a long life'. Mrs McNeill was Morrow's pianist at the YMCA meetings and also at the early Rangiora outreaches. A daughter, Trish Donaldson, and her late husband, Spence, were founders of the Hei Hei Revival Fellowship (1974). Although the roots of this work lay in the Sydenham AOG split of 1972, and the subsequent Burwood AOG (led by Ray Hood), it came under the direction of the Revival Fellowship when the Donaldsons were there (1974-79), Donaldson telephone interview, 19 May 2001.
[19] W. H. Offlier, *God and His Bible or the Harmonies of Divine Revelation* (Seattle, Washington: Bethel Temple, 1946), p.11.
[20] See n. 25.

> all made plain. This line of teaching is crowned by the revelation of the One Hundred and Twenty Jubilees, at the Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ. ...[21]

According to Max Palmer, a later associate of Morrow's, these teachings were 'often quoted in the early days' at the Revival Fellowship. As a framework for Bible teaching, the content of the Bethel Temple interpretations was important, but so too, was the value attached to prophecy or direct revelation. This was a consistent feature of Morrow's ministry in Christchurch.

In essence the Temple teachings relied heavily on Offlier's interpretations, particularly the Dispensations,[22] the Tabernacle or Temple Church, numbers and typologies. For example, the Triunity of God was said to be shown in each created type, including (*inter alia*): the Sun, the Moon and the Stars (Genesis 1 verse 14), the Ark of Noah (Genesis 6 verse 14), Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Genesis 12 to 30), the Urim, the High Priest and the Thummim (Exodus 28 verse 30). And in the New Testament: The Three Loaves (Luke 11 verse 5), the Three Witnesses in Heaven (1 John 5 verse 7), the Three Witnesses in Earth (1 John 5 verse 8), and, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (Matthew 28 verse 19).[23]

These elaborate beliefs were unified by central dispensational, numerical and typological understandings. Despite rigorous categorisation, there remained a clear pentecostal emphasis with many teachings relying on an uncritical acceptance of metaphorical interpretations and premillennial presuppositions. So far as Morrow and his contemporaries were concerned, the emphases on the person and ministry of the Holy Spirit were foundational in the life and witness of any church. Offlier implores his readers regarding THE NAME OF THE HOLY SPIRIT [sic]:

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[21] Offlier, *God and His Bible.* p. 12. These statements are tautological: they are true because they are revelatory, and therefore, not subject to reasoned exegetical argument.

[22] *Ibid.* The Three Dispensations of the Ages were: the First Dispensation of 2000 Years (a 'Witness of Water...The flood of waters in the days of Noah was the Water Baptism of a world, in actual sense', p. 29), the Central Dispensation of 2000 Years ('...bears the Witness and Testimony of Blood. It begins in the sealing—with the blood of the ordained sacrifices—of the Covenant made with Abraham [up to]...the blood of Christ.' p. 30), and finally, the Last Dispensation of 2000 Years '...the Third (and last) Dispensation bears the Witness and Seal of the Holy Spirit. It is the present age, now almost at its end!') p. 31.

[23] Offlier, *God and His Bible,* p. 16.

> The name CHRIST means the ANOINTED, and it pleased God that the Holy Spirit should be comprehended under this name. It is readily seen that there is no Name more appropriate or suitable in heaven or earth, or one that could more wonderfully express that divine Spirit which has been poured out so gloriously upon the Church of God. ...Thank God for this anointing! The Holy Ghost! How many of God's children and ministers have received this glorious anointing for the work of the Lord in these days! The glory of that anointing is indescribable. Natural things are forgotten, and the world and the flesh are left far behind as the Holy Spirit is poured through every part of your being, and God in His Christ, becomes your All in All.[24]

This provided inspiration as well as a theological rationale. The works of the Church in the Last Dispensation—the '2000 Years of the Gospel Age'[25]—were to be characterised by the 'anointing' of the Holy Spirit. These were among the doctrines shaping Morrow during his last years in Australia in the mid-1950s.[26]

Closely related to the Temple teachings were those of the Latter Rain. In a passage demonstrating the links, Offlier had written:

> We remind you again that the fullnes [sic] of the "Seven Prophetic Times" comes at the close of this dispensation, and the symbolic shadow which is cast across the ages, in this scripture is that of a mighty downpour of the spiritual "Latter Rain" in the last days of time! ...This "Latter Rain" has already begun to fall, it will not cease until the Church—as Elijah—shall be translated into the actual presence of the Lord! as [sic] she completes her earthly course, and is married to the Lamb.[27]

Known more correctly as 'The New Order of the Latter Rain',[28] these doctrines were based on an interpretation of the book of Joel, one of the minor Old Testament prophets. The key passages are Chapter 2, verses 28 and 29 which read, 'And afterward, I will pour out my Spirit on all people. Your sons and your daughters will prophesy, your old men will dream dreams, your young men will see visions. Even on my servants, both men and women, I will pour out my Spirit in those days'. Also important has been the rejoinder later in the book

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[24] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[25] Offlier also issued a wall chart with the book (approximately A2 size) detailing (*inter alia*) the work of the Church in the Last Days in graphic format. This was 'the subject matter for hundreds of Sermons and Bible Teachings'.

[26] To an extent greater than Morrow, Rob Wheeler adhered to the Bethel Temple teachings in the early years, especially the exposition of 'types'. Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001.

[27] Offlier, *God and His Bible*, p. 55.

[28] The most comprehensive account of the Latter Rain is probably by Richard M. Riss, *The Latter Rain Movement of the 1948 and the Mid-Twentieth Century Evangelistic Awakening* (Ontario: Honeycomb Visual Productions, 1987).

(Chapter 3 verse 9); 'Proclaim this among the nations: Prepare for war! Rouse the warriors!'

A literal reading of these passages and attendant belief that the Last Days were indeed a reference to the present days, added impetus to the 'anointing' of the Temple teachings, and a general quickening of activity after 1945.

A blend of Temple and Latter Rain teachings strongly influenced Ray Jackson during his 1947 visit to America:

> Following his return to the United States in 1947, Ray Jackson became a participant in the "Latter Rain" receiving ordination as an "Apostle to New Zealand" at the hands of its leaders. [Back in New Zealand he] was able to amalgamate the Latter Rain teachings successfully with the earlier Bethel Temple doctrines. ...
>
> In character, the Latter Rain movement was restorationist and perfectionist in doctrine, charismatic in ethos, and strongly anti-organisational in church polity.[29]

The distinct emphases included the gifts of the Spirit imparted by the laying on of hands, and the setting apart of 'anointed' individuals in the 'Last Days', usually in relation to their gifts, especially the 'five-fold' of Ephesians Chapter 4 verse 11, which included apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers.[30]

Morrow and most others who preached under the auspices of the Revival Fellowship, adhered to these beliefs.[31] The lack of formal theological training meant the pentecostal leaders were at risk of ministering out of simplistic understandings of complex eschatological and pneumatological concepts. In Morrow's case, however, these dangers were largely avoided due to his teachable spirit, affinity with charismatics and willingness to draw on and work with the giftings of others.

An important distinction with the earlier pentecostals was the means through which Spirit baptism and tongues were said to be received: within Latter Rain

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[29] Knowles, 'Some Aspects', p. 80.
[30] See n. 124.
[31] As evidenced by the audio-cassette titles held at the New Life Centre, overseas speakers such as Paul Kauffman ('All Ready To Harvest'), David Schoch ('Last Days'), and Hal Oxley ('Spiritual Warfare') were among the many visitors who had spoken on 'end times' themes.

interpretations, spiritual gifts were received through the laying-on of hands and prayer, often resulting in immediate manifestation (in contrast to the practice of tarrying). This too, was tied-up with a 'Joel's Army' belief that God had restored the fullness of the gifts which were now widely available for all who desired to be 'empowered'.

As will be evident in the descriptions of Morrow's meetings, a belief in this 'immediacy' was important in the rapid spread of the charismatic renewal.[32]

4.1.3. From Australia to New Zealand

Morrow's association with the Jacksons led to a period of open-air preaching, personal witnessing and further training as an independent pastor. He travelled with them to the United States to experience first-hand the post-war healing revival before returning to Australia to attend 'Bible School' in Ballarat. This was established in 1953 and run by Ray Jackson. According to Anne Morrow the school was a very 'local' affair originally set-up in a garage. It was however, an important training centre for future leaders including Kevin Connor, Nancy Dykes, Ron Coady and of course, Morrow. Specific details of the teaching are not known, but Latter Rain and Bethel Temple sources would be illuminating.

What is known is that these people were to break the barriers which prevented the pentecostal sects from making an impact in the mainstream churches. The itinerant nature of their activities (tent meetings, for example) moved pentecostalism beyond the confines of institutional sect-like meetings.

In 1959 Morrow accompanied the Jacksons to New Zealand to work as an itinerant evangelist. This lifestyle complemented his spontaneous personality and ability to relate to a cross-section of people. There were numerous opportunities for crusade work in New Zealand at a time when relatively few pentecostal preachers were active and when the recent Billy Graham meetings had given an air of respectability and legitimacy to such events. Close associates in this work

[32] See for example, Don Cowey's description of praying for others at 'Adullam's Cave', see 4.2.2, pp. 109-11.

were Ian and Mavis Hunt, Rodney Francis, Ron Coady, Paul Collins and Rob Wheeler.

In the North Island Morrow quickly endeared himself to Maori, some of whom did not forgot his early work among various hapu and iwi.[33] In these years he also became part of A. S. Worley's campaign team as a song leader. 'This' [Anne Morrow adds] 'was hard to believe because Pete[r] didn't really hold great tune'.[34] New groups began to develop as a result, an example being the Open Door Mission Fellowship in Palmerston North which Rodney Francis attended and Clarrie and Edith Hunt pastored.[35]

It was a similar situation in the South Island where Morrow worked with Worley, Coady and Wheeler in a number of successful crusades, including Timaru in 1960, Gore in 1964, and the 'Potter of Life' meetings in Nelson in 1966. More obscure locations such as Orepuki in Western Southland were also included,[36] in addition to Wheeler's open air meetings at the Addington Showgrounds in Christchurch in 1962.

Timaru is important in Morrow's personal journey as it was there that he worked with David Jackson for a time prior to coming to Christchurch. The immediate effect of 'over 600 recorded decisions for Christ' in Timaru is readily appreciated, but the legacy of this particular outreach, its methods and the on-going work it spawned, are perhaps of equal significance:

> "...in the years 1959-1960, the Spirit of God moved on a small group of people to pray for a revival in Timaru." At first, "the heavens seemed as brass, so great was the power of darkness over the city."

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[33] 'Some Maori women, even years later, would greet Peter with great affection; they still saw him as a spiritual father-type figure'. Morrow interview, 12 March 2001.

[34] A missionary couple Don and Jocelyn Cowey became members of and (later) pastors in the Revival Fellowship. They recalled that, 'when Peter had the anointing of the Spirit he could sing beautifully, but when it passed from him and he tried to carry on he lost it'. Cowey interview, 2 May 2001.

[35] This was during 1960-62. A daughter, Jean, married Rodney Francis, and a son, Ian, was a close associate of Morrow's. Prior to his shift to the South Island, Morrow stayed with Clarrie and Edith Hunt, and their home was a base for evangelism and ministering in various churches around the North Island. Ian Hunt also worked with Wheeler as a tent evangelist in the latter's North Island crusades and conventions. Correspondence from Rodney Francis to Anne Morrow, 24 May 2001.

[36] As a result of the outreach in Orepuki, two other close colleagues at this time, Alistair and Lois Lowe began to pastor a new work there. Morrow interview, 4 May 2001.

> "After many months, there at last came a breakthrough, the joyful assurance that a spiritual battle had been fought and won. The group leader, Ada Pollock, contacted American evangelist A. S. Worley who, accompanied by his wife, was at that time conducting a campaign in Dunedin, and invited him to come to Timaru."
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> "On April 6th, 1960, A. S. Worley began a six-day campaign in the New Century Hall, Timaru...Two months later, although his schedule for the winter months had been arranged, Mr Worley felt strongly impressed to return to Timaru at the end of that week to continue their itinerary throughout New Zealand with no intention of ever returning." ...
>
> "Two months later, although his schedule for the winter months had been arranged, Mr Worley felt strongly impressed to return to Timaru. Invitations from various centres in New Zealand and overseas...were reluctantly put aside, for, to use his own words, 'We had to obey the call of the Holy Spirit and come back to Timaru. I knew it would be our greatest campaign'."[37]

The flexible itinerary paid dividends, as the writer explains:

> "Assisted by Ron Coady, a Bible teacher from Tauranga, and Peter Morrow from Australia, [Worley] started his campaign in the New Century Hall on Friday, June 17, 1960, with 60 people present. Attendances built up as the meetings continued over the next five weeks with afternoon and evening services each day.
>
> People came from all over the South Island and from all denominations. After two or three weeks it was obvious that the New Century Hall could no longer accommodate the crowds, so the evening services were transferred to the Bay Tearooms. ...When the campaign ended on Sunday, July 24, there were about 700 people present. Over the five week period there had been over 600 decisions for Christ."[38]

The Timaru crusades were a portent of Morrow's early years in Christchurch with the dynamics and patterns of growth being remarkably similar in both instances. The experience of working with a senior figure such as Worley and the positive local response were indeed encouraging.

For Morrow in particular, the lessons of Timaru were to prove invaluable for a more enduring and larger work soon to begin in Christchurch.

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[37] Mary Henderson, *From Glory to Glory—A History of the Timaru New Life Centre* (Timaru: Dove Print, 1980), cited here in Robert Evans and Roy McKenzie, *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand* (Paihia: ColCom [sic] Press, 1999), p. 215.

4.2. In Christchurch

4.2.1. Early Contacts

In an effort to maintain the momentum in Timaru, Coady followed up those who had been affected by the crusade. This led to the establishment of a fellowship some time later under David Jackson's leadership.[39] Morrow assisted with this work in the period up to June 1962.

During this time a fledgling outreach began amongst a group of independent pentecostals in Christchurch. Originally meeting in homes, these gatherings were led by Terry and Frankie Collins with an attendance of approximately twenty people.[40] An account of these meetings, including Morrow's introduction to Christchurch, is contained in the New Life records:

> In 1962 Terry Collins had a mid-week Bible Study for people who were beginning to be stirred by truths relating to the Baptism of the Spirit and other revelatory teaching. Some of the people who attended this group were Clarice Bartle, Bernie and Dorothy Robinson [and] Michael Lomax. These meetings were held in homes. Several significant crusades were held in the city at this time. One was with Brother [A. S.] Worley, who had a signs and wonders' ministry verified by doctors and dentists (teeth filled, etc.) following the preaching of the Gospel.
>
> This was also the time when Rob Wheeler held in the Addington Show Grounds Revival Tent Meetings. These were basically organised by the combined Pentecostal churches at that time. ...Following the Crusade, Sunday meetings were started in a small hall in St. Asaph Street, and Peter Morrow who was then ministering with David Jackson in Timaru, was asked to come and speak for a weekend.
>
> This was in June 1962, and during this weekend the Lord challenged Peter to stay in Christchurch, and this was followed by an invitation to Terry Collins to take over this small group.
>
> Sunday meetings were started and the new group was called the Christchurch Revival Fellowship. ...[41]

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[38] *Ibid.*, pages 215 and 216.

[39] This later became the Timaru New Life Church. The present pastor is Gordon Rosewall, a former member of Opawa Baptist Church (see 6.2, pp. 197-211), and New Life youth worker. Rosewall had also served as a pastor in Woolston and as a missionary in the Netherlands.

[40] Morrow interview, 4 May 2001. The Collinses subsequently pastored in Dunedin and later served as missionaries overseeing the Spiritual Renewal Centre in Cebu, the Philippines.

[41] 'Our Beginnings', a mimeographed summary held in the New Life records, n.d., circa 1993.

The initial visit to Christchurch was 'just to take some weekend meetings and minister here for a couple of weeks', but Morrow was allegedly given three Scriptures challenging him to remain and expand the work in the city. Anne Morrow recounts: 'one was building Nehemiah's walls, one was Adullam's Cave, that God will bring those who were discouraged; David gathered those to himself and out of that was forged an army, and the third was regarding a sense of coming to the city for a special assignment'.[42]

By late 1964 a group had also been established at Rangiora where there were 'more amazing and greater meetings than we had in Christchurch...we used to go up there on Monday night and sometimes wouldn't get home until two o'clock in the morning. It was just a profound move of God; very, very significant'.[43] Morrow's willingness to 'move in the prophetic' meant each meeting was different with extraordinary events occurring from time to time. On one such occasion in Christchurch:

> ...people were saying goodbye and Peter was just praying for someone, and the Spirit of the Lord moved again, ...it came in waves. People were getting into their cars and slowly, everyone came back into the meeting and we continued on for hours...just amazing! They heard something was happening and wandered back in again...there was a real unpredictableness in our meetings. ...Peter always kept his options open.[44]

Prior to the watershed first visit to Christchurch, Morrow was speaker at an Easter Camp in Gore (run by Coady) in April 1962. It was here he met Anne

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[42] Morrow interview, 4 May 2001. Nehemiah 2 verse 17 reads, 'Then I said to them, "You see the trouble we are in: Jerusalem lies in ruins, and its gates have been burned with fire. Come, let us rebuild the wall of Jerusalem, and we will no longer be in disgrace". The Adullam's Cave reference is 2 Samuel 23 verses 13-16: 'During harvest time, three of the thirty chief men came down to David at the cave of Adullam, while a band of Philistines was encamped in the Valley of Rephaim. At that time David was in the stronghold, and the Philistine garrison was at Bethlehem. David longed for water and said, "Oh, that someone would get me a drink of water from the well near the gate of Bethlehem!" So the three mighty men broke through the Philistine lines, drew water from the well near the gate of Bethlehem and carried it back to David...'. The third reference is from Esther, 4 verse 14, which reads, "For if you remain silent at this time, relief and deliverance for the Jews will arise from another place, but you and your father's family will perish. And who knows but that you have come to royal position for such a time as this?"

[43] Morrow interview, 4 May 2001. Australian evangelist Neville Cooper, who later set up a community at Cust (inland from Rangiora), was an early attendee at these meetings. John Boyce recalls he 'had real charisma, was a gifted evangelist, and had outstanding testimonies about his work in Australia. But he kept wanting to dominate, and eventually left'. Whereas Morrow's openness intuitively kept him accountable, Cooper demanded personal loyalty and adherence to his own, exclusive interpretations. Boyce interview, 24 April 2001.

[44] *Ibid.*

(nee Botherway) with whom he afterwards began corresponding.[45] Like Peter, Anne Morrow had roots in the Anglican Church (St. John's, Woolston, and also St. John's, Latimer Square), but through YFC connections, (where she worked as Treasurer and was a member of the leadership team), began attending Riccarton Baptist Church[46] and also Wheeler's meetings at the Addington showgrounds.

The YFC office was in the YMCA building and here Anne worked with other subsequently important leaders, including Des Short and John Hitchen.[47] There was, she recalls, 'incredible tension over the baptism [in the Spirit]' within this inter-denominational group, but otherwise 'real unity and a commitment to the city's youth'.[48] She felt 'decidedly uncomfortable' when it became known among colleagues she had 'received the baptism'. The method of prayer and response practised by the independents also generated some disquiet, even among other pentecostals, but there was much goodwill and banter: 'Peter would say "You blessed AOGs [pastors]!", to which they would reply, "You blessed independents!"'[49]

Following an engagement of several months (which included joint pastoral visits), the Morrows married at Colombo Street Baptist Church on 24 October 1964 with Wheeler officiating and David Jackson best man.

As meeting numbers increased, more suitable facilities had to be found. Always it was this factor—the need to incorporate larger attendances—that brought a change in premises. The St. Asaph Street Hall, the first Sunday meeting venue used at the time of Wheeler's revival crusades, quickly became inadequate and

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[45] Anne was at Wheeler's Bible School and Peter asked her to write. Her first letter was signed 'yours faithfully'. 'When we returned he was pastoring this little group in town and I started going along...I think he was impressed at the camp that we were dancing in the Spirit'. Morrow interview, 4 May 2001. Another interviewee, Trish Donaldson, recalled her mother Muriel McNeill would comment that Peter would ask her counsel when travelling to meetings, "Well, what do you think of Anne?" Donaldson interview, 19 May 2001.

[46] In response to a message from Edwin Orr Anne was converted in 1958. She found the South African minister, Leonard Matthews 'marvellous and a most godly teacher'. In the YFC role, she mixed with a spectrum of Christians, including pentecostals. Prominent leaders were Malcolm Miles (Director), Joe Simmons (a future Christchurch Navigators' leader), and John Beaumont (a Baptist later involved in itinerant outreaches throughout the country).

[47] Short, a member of Oxford Terrace Baptist was later principal of Faith Bible College (Tauranga), and Hitchen, then involved at Rutland Street Chapel (Brethren), became a missionary, scholar and principal of the Bible College of New Zealand in Auckland.

[48] Morrow interviews, 12 March and 4 May 2001.

[49] Morrow interview, 12 March 2001.

the Revival Fellowship, as it was now called,[50] moved to the old YMCA centre.[51] Mid-week Bible studies were held in homes but this expanded in 1965 when the upstairs storey of a disused motorcycle shop on the corner of Tuam and Durham Streets was renovated and renamed 'Adullam's Cave', in accord with one of the Scriptures given to Morrow in 1962.[52]

4.2.2. 'Adullam's Cave'

With the possible exception perhaps, of the later weekly Charismatic Bible Studies, it was 'Adullam's Cave' ('an old, disused motorbike shop above a Coffee Lounge, situated on the corner or Tuam and Durham Streets'[53]) that established the reputation of Peter Morrow and the Revival Fellowship more than any other work. The dynamism of these meetings and the range and volume of people they affected—'literally hundreds'[54]—were essential elements in the growth of the Revival Fellowship and the charismatic renewal.[55]

Those involved in the refurbishment of the premises were said to experience 'supernatural visitations during the wallpapering'.[56] Once opened:

> ...The vision of the Coffee Lounge was outreach, with teams going out on the streets [on] Friday and Saturday nights, and bringing people in for coffee and sharing. Many came to the Lord at that time. However the vision was larger than was initially conceived. Peter felt to have special meetings on a Thursday night for the Baptism of the Holy Spirit. For a

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[50] See n. 11.

[51] Of coincidental interest is that the Reformed Church of Christchurch also used the YMCA facilities in Cambridge Terrace (1960-1962). It was later recalled that 'The Concert Hall of the YMCA was undoubtedly the nicest one we ever had for our worship services, but in 1962 the congregation grew out of it'. And that, 'The rise of the charismatic movement cost us some members in the early sixties', this perhaps being an oblique reference to the fact the Revival Fellowship used the premises and may have successfully attracted members of the Reformed Church. *Anniversary—The Reformed Church of Christchurch 1953-1988* (no publication details, 1988), pages 7 and 13. The Presbyterian Minister at Redcliffs during the 1960s, Bernard Honders, was also active in the Dutch Club and apparently did much to attract interest in charismatic developments from that quarter. Cowey interview, 2 May 2001.

[52] Opening dates vary and no contemporary advertisements can be sourced. The New Life records indicate both 1965 and 1967; while interviewees offered various dates from 1964 to 1966. However, Anne Morrow confirmed 'late 1965'; a date she can verify in relation to the age of her older children. Telephone interview, 22 May 2001.

[53] 'Our Beginnings'—'Adullam's Cave, 1965-1970'.

[54] Morrow interview, 12 March 2001. Anne continued, 'There wouldn't be an Anglican church in the city that didn't have at least one representative there'. This is a very revealing comment and may explain why the renewal had such momentum within that denomination and why CAM had strong local support from there also.

[55] Unfortunately records of the outreach were not kept, however anecdotal evidence confirms a general consistency on the structure and content of the meetings, the music and Morrow's input (*inter alia*).

[56] 'Our Beginnings'. It should be added that 'coffee lounges' were starting to become fashionable places for young people to congregate at the time.

> period of almost three years [1965-68], every week, people came from all over the city to these meetings, crowded into this small Coffee Lounge. At one point it was not known of an Anglican Church in the city that did not have people who had baptised in the Holy Spirit through these meetings.
>
> Many instances were of people 'slain' and 'drunk in the Spirit' for hours, and having to literally be carried down the stairs to be taken home around 12 and 1 a.m.[57]

Morrow's later colleague Rasik Ranchord, attended 'Adullam's Cave' from early 1967 and remembers the venue as 'cramped, with two small rooms, but it had a friendly atmosphere and was great for fellowship'.[58] There were several meetings a week, with a Bible study on Mondays, a weekly prayer meeting for the baptism (in the Spirit) on Thursday evenings, while in the weekends it served as a coffee bar. More important in terms of the renewal, a coffee bar was considered 'neutral ground' without obvious church ties. 'It was here', Ranchord believes, 'people from other churches really began to come in. It was the beginning of the charismatic renewal in Christchurch'.[59] Not long after he joined the leadership of the Revival Fellowship and became a close and trusted co-pastor.

Ranchord came to New Zealand as a sixteen year-old Indo-Fijian migrant in 1957 and enrolled at the University of Auckland the following year to study accountancy. A holiday trip to Christchurch (later in 1958) made a favourable impression and he transferred to the University of Canterbury, eventually graduating in 1963. Despite Hindu roots, Ranchord attended the Evangelical Temple, a central city Christian community, and was converted.

This, he recalls, 'was a very closed church whose leaders believed they had a higher revelation than anyone else' and outside contact was frowned upon.[60] A friend invited him to the Revival Fellowship—an act which led to excommunication from the Temple. He was then 'very hungry' but impressed

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[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] The Temple warrants separate analysis, but briefly, its leader, William E. Wilson (1900-1988) had connections with the Wigglesworth crusades of the 1920s (see 2.3.2, p. 46), the AOG, and also British-Israelism. Wilson's brothers also pastored exclusivist churches in Mt. Roskill (Auckland), and in the Hutt Valley (Wellington). Former member Aaron Donaldson recalls Ranchord being a 'rising star' with obvious and well-received gifts in preaching. This, he believes, created discomfort for Wilson. When the Temple dissolved in 1990 a public apology was issued to the Morrows for the years of 'active agitation against them'. Donaldson, telephone interview, 4 April 2003.

with Morrow's evening Bible School, and the teaching of David Jackson who was visiting at the time. A subsequent 'prophecy' to join Morrow on the pastoral team was tentatively accepted, pending confirmation, which was provided at a Rangiora camp when visiting American speaker, Violet Kiteley, encouraged Ranchord to 'help shepherd the sheep.' He became co-pastor in late 1967 and remained in that role until January 1977 when he established a similar work in Wellington. Ranchord was a survivor of the *Wahine* disaster of 10 April 1968; an event, he claims, that significantly strengthened his faith.[61]

In addition, Morrow's Anglican roots and Ranchord's upbringing in a Catholic school in Fiji:

> ...gave us an understanding and sympathy with people in historic churches, so when the charismatic move started, there was an openness to the whole Body of Christ, which was quite foreign for pentecostal people at that time, and of course Peter too, has always been a person of much love, that's his hallmark, and so people gravitated to that open love he had, without strings attached. In my view that was one of the keys to the great breakthrough in Christchurch. And from there it went out to a lot of other places.[62]

The ambience gave little hint of 'another church meeting'. 'In my view [Ranchord continues], one of the secrets was feeding people without strings attached and the result was explosive growth'.

Don and Jocelyn Cowey, then at Redcliffs Presbyterian Church, attended 'Adullam's Cave'. By 1966 they had had some exposure to pentecostal teaching, experienced 'the baptism', but retained a 'desperate spiritual thirst'.[63] Their loyalty to continue at Redcliffs on Sunday mornings while going to Morrow's meetings and a pentecostal home group at other times was common for many

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[61] *Loc. cit.*

[62] Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001. The Revival Fellowship began sending missionaries overseas, and specific training for this was provided when the Bible School in Thorrington Road was opened in 1971. Another 'prophecy' from Violet Kitely in 1970 predicted that the New Life Centre would become an 'Antioch Church' as in Acts Chapter 13, verse 47b which reads: "I have made you a light for the Gentiles, that you may bring salvation to the ends of the earth". According to an official account, this was 'confirmed many times by other prophetic ministries' (New Life records).

[63] An architect and elder, Cowey was then serving on national committees of the Presbyterian Church (including the Architecture Committee) as well as being a Presbyterian representative on an NCC committee. Having attended a meeting at Hagley High School ('probably run by Morrow'), he experienced Spirit baptism having been impressed with the 'heavenly' music. He started going to a home group in Redcliffs and attending Morrow's meetings. Cowey interview, 2 May 2001.

early members of the Revival Fellowship.[64] It was not Morrow's style to recruit members from other churches; 'transfer growth' did occur, and, in Presbyterian circles at least, was aided considerably by concern over the Geering heresy trial. The lure of 'Adullam's Cave' may have been enhanced by a perceived sense of formalism or irrelevance in the denominational churches, but generally it was the appeal of the ministry that provided the main attraction. Recalling one memorable occasion, Don Cowey describes the atmosphere:

> ...the Thursday night meeting was non-threatening so far as people from other churches were concerned, and to me, 'Adullam's Cave' was the 'powerhouse' of the whole revival movement. I can remember that [Morrow] was very strong on testimonies and any 'Joe Blo' who had received the baptism in the Spirit was then going to be asked to testify...and I can always remember on this one particular occasion, the first time I was there...he asked me to testify which I had to do, you see...there was a situation between the time when there were testimonies and then there was a break for having a cup of tea.
>
> Then there was praying for people for the baptism...it was so crowded that people were half-way down the stairs listening, it was a fire-trap and a danger...anyway, what amazed me was where I was sitting, it was in a row with three women I had never seen in my life before, and when we broke for a cup of tea one of them said, "Do we have to have a cup of tea; why can't we receive the baptism of the Spirit now?" Remember I was a Presbyterian and everything was always done decently and in order, I said "That's always done *after* supper." One of them turned and said "Well, why don't you pray for us?" Me? So I did. I took these three people out and prayed for them for the baptism. One of them was the wife of the Anglican Dean, Valerie Underhill. She was a very significant person in Anglican circles. Another was Barbara Butler [a founding member of Group 70], and the third, I can't recall her name. ...
>
> The interesting thing was that these people came along were so 'thirsty', they received the baptism and went back to their own churches. The other significant point was that it wasn't just one person from the front that was praying for people, that was the power of the whole thing. ...[65]

John and Jan Boyce provide another account including a description of Morrow:

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[64] *Ibid.* John and Jan Boyce, then farmers at Leeston, also faced divided loyalties. In both these churches, the Presbyterian ministers, Bernard Honders and Andrew Cowie (at Redcliffs and Leeston respectively), were affected by Morrow's ministry and encouraging at least limited involvement from like-minded parishioners. The stimulus for the Coweys to set up a home group came from 'a Baptist fellow who lent me books by Michael Harper' which ultimately led to involvement with Morrow after Honders's departure; while for the Boyce's formal severance with the Leeston Presbyterian Church came in 1970 when they moved to the city.

[65] Cowey interview, 2 May 2001. Michael Underhill was Dean of Christchurch from November 1966 to 1982. Valerie, also a founding member of Group 70, later died in a car crash. According to Ces Dennehy in a tribute at her funeral at St. John's in Rangiora, 'She had made an extraordinary impact on countless lives...[and] gave great open counsel and encouragement to the Catholic Church in charismatic renewal, ...we believe that through her discernment we escaped the pitfalls we could have fallen into'. 'Mrs Underhill drew people like a Magnet' undated newspaper article, New Life records.

> A key to those meetings would be when Peter would, after the singing, begin to prophesy, he would call people out, he'd pray over them, he'd move among the crowd wherever he could get in; he had such a love for people! It wasn't a gift as such, it was a love for people. He wanted to see them blessed and encouraged and saved, filled with the Holy Spirit and loving Jesus. So he would do everything he could to make that happen.[66]

The lack of structure was readily apparent and each meeting developed its own direction:

> The place would be so full the other person's back would be jamming into your knees and you hardly had room to take your notes because you were all squashed up so tightly together, ...but it was so full of life, I mean it was absolutely terrific and then quite often a spirit of prophetic anointing would come down on Peter and he would just prophesy over dozens of people. This was always so very encouraging and uplifting. I don't know how many were squashed into that room but even if you had to stand half way down the stairs you were still there! Here was 'food' that you hadn't had...Talk about those sheep on dry pastures that hadn't been fed...that was just exactly what it was like! ...As well as Anglicans, there would be Sally Army people [sic], and nuns in their habits, ...most denominations including Baptists, but very few Presbyterians and Methodists.[67]

In addition to the encouragement to pray for others and the testimonies was the music. Although not gifted in that area Morrow had a sensitivity and dramatic sense of timing when it came to leading 'praise and worship' and this was another factor in the appeal of 'Adullam's Cave'.[68]

Even with two separate meetings per week, the Tuam Street premises had become inadequate by 1970. During that year 'Adullam's Cave' ceased to exist although the Sunday meetings continued at the Horticultural Hall in Cambridge Terrace.

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[66] Boyce interview, 24 April 2001.
[67] Cowey interview, 2 May 2001.
[68] Morrow interview, 12 March 2001. Anne Morrow adds, 'it was more than just music, it was a whole new perspective on praise and worship'. This was integral to the related factors of an openness to the Holy Spirit, and teaching which 'fed hungry sheep' and 'often involved the prophetic'. In the early years she played the accordion at 'Adullam's Cave', 'sometimes with children asleep at her feet'. Boyce interview, 24 April 2001. Mostly however, a piano was used and the songs were a mix of revival hymns, traditional and contemporary choruses, *ibid.*

4.2.3. Consolidation

The 1970s were years of consolidation as the Revival Fellowship expanded into new ministry areas, many of which directly or indirectly assisted the renewal. Morrow had become a recognised leader within both pentecostal and charismatic circles. He continued to attract speakers (many of international status) to preach and speak at camps and conventions. This in addition to the success of CAM in these areas (from 1972), resulted in unparalleled growth of the charismatic renewal in the early to middle years of that decade. This was due, in large measure, to the on-going influence of the Morrows and the activities with which they were associated.

The absence of a 'church feel' at 'Adullam's Cave' was particularly important for ministers and members of religious orders or communities, such as the Roman Catholics. Amongst this group Morrow had established links as early as 1968 and from then began actively promoting 'the things of the Spirit' within that tradition. His connection was forged through a friendship with Father Cecil (Ces) Dennehy. On the occasion of Dennehy's death in 1996 it was recounted that:

> In 1969 a number of those making weekend retreats at the Christchurch Monastery shared with him [Dennehy] how they were attending gatherings at the Horticultural Hall where Pentecostal pastor Peter Morrow was conducting services. They spoke about being baptised in the Holy Spirit, about praying in Tongues, about healings that were taking place. Father Cec. [sic] was puzzled and concerned at all this and discussed what he had heard with the late Father John Magill CssR, who was also in the Bower Avenue Community [Redemptorist Centre] at this time. They concluded that it was all too bizarre to be of God. ...
>
> Within a short time [however, they] were convinced that what they witnessed was a sovereign move of God, they became part of it—part of what then became known as the Catholic Pentecostalism and which is now called the Catholic Charismatic Renewal.[69]

These first meetings provided great impetus; for example, a tape received at the Revival Centre on the Catholic Charismatic Renewal at Notre Dame University was duplicated and distributed to Catholics 'all over the city and was well received'.[70]

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[69] This was a tribute by Father John Rea SM, 'Another "man for all seasons" ', copied article from an unidentified Catholic publication, circa July 1996, courtesy Anne Morrow.
[70] Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001.

A renovated two-storeyed building in Lichfield Street was purchased in 1970 and this became the weekly teaching and ministry venue and the original New Life Centre. The main meeting was on Tuesday when Morrow and Ranchord would teach at what were advertised as 'Charismatic Bible Studies'. This was 'where people from every denomination would come' and, as Ranchord claimed at the time, 'The centre is dedicated for the use of all Christians and is a place for all to meet. It is not limited to any one group'.[71] This was, in effect, an official statement of purpose as well as a reflection of the past five years' reality.

By December 1970 a successful application had been lodged with the Heathcote County Council for a permit to establish a residential Bible College at 16 Thorrington Road in Cashmere. This ended an eventful year where satellite churches had also been planted in Ashburton, Kaikoura, Darfield, Leeston and the West Coast (Westport).[72]

Thorrington Road was initially called the 'New Life Family Bible College' and was the home of the Morrow family for the next nineteen years.[73] In Morrow's words, the College 'was an extension of the New Life Centre which provided a vehicle for the practical outworking of what the students had learned'.[74] While the emphasis was primarily on equipping students for missionary service, the school also brought visiting lecturers and students to the city, which, in turn, contributed to the local ministry of the Revival Fellowship and New Life Centre. In addition to its own staff, the College drew upon a number of local ministers and pastors for teaching. As these were people maturing in their own understanding of renewal, this arrangement proved mutually beneficial.[75]

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[71] *Ibid.*, and also 'Enthusiastic Response to New Centre', article, *Christchurch Star*, n.d., circa 1970, clipping in New Life records.

[72] 'Celebrating the Past', historical recollections, 1993, New Life records.

[73] It was later renamed the 'International School of Ministry' (ISOM). This fine two-storeyed wooden building and the surrounding two-and-a-half acres of land was purchased by Morrow (in response to a vision) at auction for $42,000. The first intake consisted of 15 students, but by 1989, 41 students were attending ISOM. By the 1980s it also boasted a prospectus and year book/magazine, *The Potter's Wheel*. New Life records.

[74] 'Morrows: A Nostalgic Look Back', *The Potter's Wheel*, 1990, p. 5.

[75] A long-standing supporter of this work was Owen Woodfield from Opawa Methodist. The overseas pastors included those from Australia who were regular visitors. In this way Morrow maintained close links with his trans-Tasman roots.

To replace 'Adullam's Cave', a new coffee bar, 'Crossroads',[76] in High Street, was opened in 1971 and first steps were also taken that year to secure the 'Allandale' property above Governor's Bay for a conference and convention centre. 'Living Springs', as the site became known, was the result of a 'vision' delivered by English pentecostal Jean Darnell during her 1971 visit to Christchurch.[77] She urged Morrow to purchase a property from which 'the Living Springs of Truth would flow'. In response Morrow sold his home in Geraldine Street and made a part purchase of 'Allandale' farm. An interest in this development was shared by an erstwhile unconnected businessman and member of Riccarton Baptist Church, David Down, who felt to approach Morrow. Under Down's leadership the complex was eventually completed in October 1976.[78] Significantly, the original trustees were determined 'Living Springs' would be open to all churches and denominations.

Another new venture, the 'One Way Bookcentre', in Colombo Street, was opened in 1972. This was an early but important source of literature related to the renewal and the ministry of the Holy Spirit generally. Cowey believed the shop was 'vital in the charismatic renewal because people wanted books when the Spirit moved'.[79]

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[76] Also known as the 'Jesus Coffee Shop', this was advertised as offering, 'A warm friendly welcome to the only free Coffee Bar in town. Bright Gospel Music in friendly Christian atmosphere. Come and say hello this Saturday night. Bible Study, Thursday, 7.30 p.m., Subject: Why Should I Speak in Tongues. Everyone welcome'. *The Press,* 16 November 1974, p. 24.

[77] Darnell was from England but later settled in America. In 1953 with her husband, Elmer, she was instrumental in setting-up a Foursquare Gospel Church in Victoria Park, Perth, Australia. (For more on Darnell, see Phillip J. Hughes, *The Pentecostals in Australia* (Canberra: Australia Government Publishing Service, 1996), p. 31, and also, Richard Quebedeaux, *The New Charismatics II* (San Farncisco: Harper Row, 1983), p. 130. The local data was obtained in an interview with Max Palmer. Palmer interview, 27 February 2001. Darnell also wrote a musical, *The Witness,* which was staged by the New Life Centre in September 1979. When in Christchurch in June of that year, she spoke at the New Life Centre and also at Durham Street Methodist Church. *The Press,* 16 June 1979, p. 25.

[78] It was noted in an article that 'Although the place was envisaged mainly as a residential Bible training centre and for retreats, it is also available to church groups, schools and for field trips...They [the trustees] were determined it should not belong to any particular denomination and for that reason a trust was formed'. 'Camp Built on Faith Opens for Business', *Christchurch Star,* feature article, 2 October 1976, p. 5. The original trustees were Ron Parker, Roger Roxburgh, Peter Morrow and David Down.

[79] Cowey interview, 2 May 2001. The first employee was Molly Lawrence and later overseers were Anne Hepburn and Bruce McFarlane. It was relocated to Majestic House in Manchester Street in 1976. Although there had been denominational book shops (the Presbyterian Bookroom, in Lichfield Street, for example), there was a dearth of material in these stores to support the renewal. 'One Way Books' finally ceased trading on 28 July 2001.

The constant procession of teachers from Australia was a factor in the growth of the church. These were from a variety of sources, including the Full Gospel Churches, the Assemblies of God, the Church of the Foursquare Gospel, the Apostolic Church and the Christian Revival Crusade. Morrow's reciprocal relationship with these churches meant he was a regular visitor to trans-Tasman churches and conferences.[80] This brought a cross-pollination of pentecostal teachings to Christchurch. Niche expressions such as the United Pentecostal Church International, the Church of the Nazarene and the 'Branhamites'[81] were each represented in the city by the mid-seventies but these groups operated independently of the New Life Centre and its more inclusive ethos.

4.3. The New Life Centre

4.3.1. Majestic House

The former Majestic Theatre on the corner of Manchester and Lichfield Streets, the future home of the New Life Centre (and Church), was erected in 1929. Speaking at the official opening, the Mayor of Christchurch allegedly declared it would be a place 'Fit for the King and his people'.[82] The nature of this building, its purchase and use is closely related to the later years of Peter Morrow's ministry in the city.

Some time after a performance by the Vienna Boys' Choir, a fire on 28 August 1970 severely damaged the Majestic Theatre and cast doubts over the cost and economic viability of its repair.[83] Owned by Auckland businessman Sir Robert

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[80] Morrow's correspondence indicates a close interest in his home city of Sydney. On one occasion (27 June 1978) he wrote to the Rev. and Mrs Gordon Gibbs, of the Charismatic Christian Fellowship in Penrith, claiming 'a heart for Sydney'. New Life records, personal correspondence.

[81] The United Pentecostal Church International began meeting in Christchurch at Burnside Primary School, Memorial Avenue, on 30 January 1977. The first pastor was F. L. Borders. *The Press*, 5 March 1977, p. 23. The Nazarene Church erected a building on the corner of Harewood and Sawyers Arms Road in June 1978 (although a Kerr's Road Church of the Nazarene was in existence before this), while the 'Branhamites' met at Branston Intermediate Hall, in Amyes Road next to Hornby Presbyterian Church from February 1978. In an advertisement it was claimed that, 'By far the most significant and Divinely vindicated move of God since the Book of Acts, has taken place in this generation through the ministry of Brother William Marrion Branham, God's Prophet-Messenger to the Laodicean Church Age, to restore faith in the Word of God'. *The Press*, 25 March 1978, p. 25, and also, 28 May 1977, p. 53.

[82] 'Celebrating the Past'. See also, the *Christchurch Star*, 4 November 1972, 'Majestic—No mere name; this was the aim to be realised'. 'Weekender Magazine' feature article.

[83] Estimated repair costs were (in 1970 figures) $20,000.

Kerridge, the theatre was subsequently sold to a small group of businessmen. With the exception of the 'One Way' bookshop, the only part of the complex to be leased out (to the Labour Department) was the first floor and foyer area.

The expansion of the New Life Centre brought the issue of buildings and facilities to crisis point in 1976. This growth had also created a need for Peter Morrow to acknowledge the need to institute elders and trustees.[84]

With a professional background in architecture and long history of involvement on related local and national committees within the Presbyterian Church, this need was keenly felt by Don Cowey, who, along with Max Palmer,[85] was a leading figure in the purchase of the Majestic Theatre.[86] In Cowey's own words:

> At that point [the church] had grown from being a little thing to being quite a significant set-up and we had our elders' meetings at the building in Lichfield Street, and we had got to the point in 1977-78, where we were again bursting out of the rooms. This was not satisfactory. The adults were meeting in the Horty Hall [sic] but they had to pick up their children from a very busy Lichfield Street, and so, what were we going to do?
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> Also, we didn't have enough room for the sorts of extensions that happen in a growing church. ...We were praying one day in the Upper Room [at Lichfield Street] and I happened to look out and see the old Majestic building standing there and I really sensed the Lord saying, "This is the way, walk in this". ...I said to Max we'd better discuss this with Peter. Shortly after we asked him to have a look, and as we prayed he said, "I sense this is right". Up until that juncture, Peter, on principle, had not believed in having a building.[87]

The businessmen who had purchased the theatre from Kerridge had put forward some money but there remained a considerable amount on the mortgage, and as the Labour Department was nearing the end of its tenure of the first floor and

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[84] As mentioned earlier, the need for structure was foreign to Morrow, who, according to Max Palmer 'never sat at a desk or shuffled paper from one side to the other'. He is also alleged to have said on numerous occasions "Don't even call me pastor!" (Palmer interview, 27 February 2001). The first elders—all men—were very committed to the ministry and significant in expanding the work both in Christchurch and overseas.

[85] Originally from New South Wales, Palmer had been an accountant, and like Morrow, had been influenced by the Jacksons. He was converted at a Billy Graham meeting in Brisbane in 1966, and came to Christchurch in 1972 to attend the Bible School in Thorrington Road and later worked with Morrow and 'tie up a few loose ends', *ibid.* However he proved a competent manager and administrator, and along with David Ravenhill and John Steele, 'was very significant in the growth of the ministry'. Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001.

[86] Cowey was an Associate of the Institute of Architects (ANZIA), and a partner in the local firm Cowey, Mills & Co. Ltd.

[87] Cowey interview, 2 May 2001.

foyer, it was believed an opportune time to explore options for the purchase of the building.

Cowey continues:

> We put in a conditional offer on the basis that we could, 1. arrange parking, 2. there would be a structural engineer's report that it was sound, and 3. that the caveat Kerridge had placed on the building prohibiting the showing of films or the staging of performances for profit, would be removed. The church fasted and prayed and Max and I went to Auckland to see Sir Robert, ...For half-an-hour he was not open at all. Then suddenly he stopped and turned to his lawyer and said, "How do you think we can help these people?" The up-shot was that we could show films but not for profit. And so we bought the building. When we finally got the mortgage documents, the person who signed them on behalf of Sir Robert was a Mr. Godbehere—this was remarkable, really! We paid it off before we did any alterations or renovations.[88]

There were also negotiations with the City Council regarding 'the change of use' from an entertainment venue to a church with an auditorium able to seat fifteen hundred people.[89] From the initial 'vision' through to the date of purchase (in April 1978), the renovation, completion and eventual opening in February 1980,[90] the acquisition of the Majestic Theatre by the New Life Centre was a protracted business.

Frank Houston, a long time friend and early contemporary during Morrow's time in the North Island (1960-1962) was invited to open the complex[91] but was unavailable. In the event, this was performed by Charlotte Baker, of the King's Temple, Seattle.[92] Baker had been a regular visitor to Christchurch since 1975[93] and had had quite an impact on the direction of the church prophetically

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[88] *Ibid.*

[89] Letter from Cowey to the Christchurch City Council, 30 September 1976, New Life records.

[90] The opening and dedication took place on a special Saturday afternoon service, followed by a further dedication meeting at 7.30 in the evening. *The Press,* 9 February 1980, p. 24.

[91] Letter from Morrow, 5 November 1979. New Life records.

[92] Morrow was in regular contact with Baker and wrote seven letters to her in the period 25 May 1977 to 3 December 1979. Her messages (14 in total) were available on audio-cassette at the New Life Centre, including topics on worship, prophecy and a memorable title, 'Moving Out of Egypt'. New Life records.

[93] She visited Christchurch at least twice previously, in May 1975, October 1978, and again for the opening, in February 1980.

challenging the congregation to become 'worshippers and [see] the release of ministry through musicians and dancers, etc.'[94]

Of greater significance for the present study is the way the new building altered and shaped the church, particularly the Sunday meetings. The new complex gave tangible evidence to the reality that the radicalism of the 1960s was giving way to institutionalism in the 1980s. As Cowey had pointed out, this was something Morrow was intuitively aware of when he said 'Peter, on principle, had not believed in having a building'.

The move was a mixed blessing. The refurbished Majestic House was opened debt-free and offered much-needed new accommodation, a permanent and centralised base, and up-graded facilities. The sheer size of the complex solved the perennial problem of space both then (1980) and in the medium and long-term future. And, it was believed, that certain events and coincidences during the process of purchase and refurbishment were confirmation that this was indeed, 'God's will'.[95]

But for all this, the dynamics of the new venue suited a more 'professional-performance' type of preaching far-departed from the itinerant style which had augured so well for Morrow in the early years. The move to Majestic House created implicit pressure for the outreach churches—particularly those that had gone through leadership changes or had not grown as they had in the seventies—to centralise. The attractiveness of the new venue itself was another 'pull' factor, and for some was preferable to the ambience of a hired hall or school classroom. Although unintended, the elevated stage and lighting of the new auditorium had the potential to give prominence to 'the-one-man-up-the-front' and 'audience' scenario, described rather pejoratively in the words of one long-time member as an 'AOG-type culture'.

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[94] Timeline comment for 'the 1970s' in the unofficial history of the church 'Celebrating the Past.' Coincidentally, the re-opening of Majestic House in February 1980 occurred the month Cowey and his wife Jocelyn left for missionary service in the Netherlands.

[95] Among these events were Kerridge's relenting on the showing of films; the significance of a Mr Godbehere signing the deed of transfer; the discovery 'in the nick of time' that original plaster castings for building to replace those destroyed by fire were available but about to be thrown out; the ending of the lease by the Labour Department at a propitious moment, and the availability of 30-odd labourers paid for by a government scheme

These dynamics were not, of course, necessarily present at each meeting, nor is this to suggest that the effectiveness or impact of local and global missions decreased after 1980,[96] but the move to Majestic House coincided with a 'turning of the corner'[97] in the wider charismatic renewal and the onset of what might be called a reflective equilibrium within a wider shift towards fragmentation.

Within the national New Life 'stream' significant changes were also taking place. A proposal for a new Pentecostal Church Union was put forward by AOG pastor, Ian Clark, in 1979, the year the annual New Life conference was held in Christchurch in September. From the early years a characteristic of the 'Full Gospel' groups had been their autonomy and an affiliation founded more on shared doctrinal beliefs than organisational polity or structure.[98] By the early eighties however, Wheeler was in favour of some form of structural unity, but both Morrow and Palmer were suspicious that moves in this direction would serve to undermine the autonomy of local assemblies.[99] An organisational structure was beginning to evolve in the New Life Churches, but both the Christchurch leaders were wanting to retain the *status quo* while the dynamics of their own assembly as well as the national context were changing.

In the period 1982 to 1987 tensions over the autonomy of local assemblies, particularly in relation to 'moral improprieties' of some pastors has been described as 'traumatic' making a bureaucratic form of polity almost inevitable.[100] Practical issues related to numerical growth also meant the former

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which ended soon after the complex was completed, were all cited as confirmation of the move. Cowey interview, 2 May 2001.

[96] In many ways the church went from strength to strength in the late seventies and early 1980s. Giving to missions (for example), in 1979 totalled $73,786 and of this figure, $17,471 was tagged 'New Zealand and local'. New Life records. Also major conferences continued to be held, including the 'National Conference of Ministers' Wives and Women', in June-July 1983. This was another of Anne Morrow's successful ventures. The point is that the *overall* direction of both the New Life Centre and the wider charismatic renewal had, slowly at first, but very definitely, entered a new phase in the early eighties.

[97] The term is the writer's and refers to a period where notable charismatics (such as Michael Harper) were reflecting on almost twenty years of the renewal.

[98] These points, were of course, connected. The Bethel Temple and Latter Rain-inspired dispensational premillennialism brought a quickening of healing evangelism and a 'looseness' that was seen by Wheeler in particular in the early years, as 'coming out from Babylon' (that is, the historic churches and their 'dead' structure).

[99] Knowles, 'Some Aspects', pp. 245-52.

[100] *Ibid.*, Conclusion, p. 347. It should be added that the 'improprieties' referred to here were not in reference to Christchurch pastors.

biblical 'model' of 'apostolic succession' in the appointment of pastors was difficult to maintain. An official name change to 'The New Life Churches of New Zealand' from 1987, was also eventually ratified but some pastors protested, and wanting to retain independence, formed a breakaway association of churches known as the 'South Pacific Fellowship'. At this time both Morrow and Wheeler were made, somewhat retrospectively, 'Apostles to New Zealand'.

4.3.2. The Moral Campaigns

A lesser known but equally important dimension of the Revival Fellowship in the late 1960s was Anne Morrow's women's ministry. Beginning in 1966, two women's camps were held annually and these, she claims, were a 'real key' in forging relationships between women. The camps grew from a perceived need early in her married life. She recalled that:

> Ministry for me started when I began to think about the women in the church, wondering what I could do. I felt the Lord say 'gather them together', so we used to have regular women's meetings and they actually reached out beyond our own group, and then there were women's camps twice a year and they grew to be quite large...starting in 1966. I think the relationships that were forged were one of the strengths of the [wider] work; just in terms of working together...there was always teaching, ...they were really grounded in 'the Word'. ...We went to Woodend, and also Lincoln College and by then we were getting 400 people, and then later on we were at [Living] Springs. Our first one was on 'The Family'; we always had a theme. I remember being absolutely staggered because I was relatively young, how many women had been abused in their relationships at that time. ...[101]

Although women's retreats have become commonplace in recent times, this was a pioneering development of the Revival Fellowship in the 1960s. As with other areas of spiritual growth, this work addressed an obvious need and in doing so, drew large numbers of women for further teaching. The success of the women's ministry demonstrates how the Morrows were quick to grasp that ministry 'properly understood' was much more than 'one hour on a Sunday'.

Alongside the growth of the New Life Centre was a new and keenly-felt challenge in the mid-1970s. The Jesus Marches of 1972 were, in part, responding to a perceived decline in moral standards (and increase in sexual

permissiveness) and the effect this had on family and 'family values' generally.[102] Secularisation served to undermine the Judeo-Christian social ethic which had long been the legitimation for public morality.[103]

Anne Morrow led a response to these issues known as the 'Save Our Homes' campaign which reached national prominence in 1977. This engagement in the public arena was reinforced on occasions by Peter's preaching. The Sunday evening meeting on 2 September 1973, for example, was aimed specifically at 'young people and teens'. The advertisement for this read:

> Pastor Morrow has a very important message to the up and coming generation of the twentieth century. The Bible teaches that the key to staying close to the Lord in the present hour when the decline in moral standards is frightening, is to live a holy life. Come and be encouraged to climb to a higher level in your Christian experience. "Suffer to follow".[104]

On occasions, as in the Save Our Homes campaign, the independent pentecostals initiated action. At other times, this was the self-appointed task of evangelical moral conservatives. For example, the proposal of the Ross Committee Report in 1973 to introduce sex education in schools led to an almost immediate response—the formation of the Concerned Parents' Association (CPA) in Christchurch, in 1974, led by medical practitioner Martin Viney and others opposed to the introduction of this material in schools.

Another series of meetings, the 'Christian Social Concern Seminars', were held in the city in the mid 1970s. These were promoted as an 'international and inter-denominational' forum to discuss pressing social issues. Topics included, 'Christian Witness and the Polarisation of New Zealand Society', and 'Politics and the Christian', although the focus was on social rather than moral problems.[105]

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[101] Morrow interview, 4 May 2001.
[102] Knowles adds that, 'The Conservative Christian response to the permissive society formed part of a world-wide phenomenon and laid the foundations for what became known as 'the New Christian Right'. 'Some Aspects', p. 168.
[103] An early response came from the Anglican Evangelical Fellowship (with Ilam Christian Union), who, in May 1972 sponsored three meetings concerning feminism and sexual permissiveness: 'Liberty, Equality and the Little Red School Book—The Question of Freedom and Authority'; 'Ms Greer meets Mrs Grundy'; and, 'The Sexual Row'. *The Press*, 20 May 1972, p. 24.
[104] *The Press*, 1 September 1973, p. 19. "Suffer to follow"—a phrase often used in advertisements of this period—had a tragic irony for Morrow himself (see Postscript).
[105] See *The Press*, 14 August 1976, p. 23, and 20 May 1978, p. 23.

The Revival Fellowship initiatives were then, part of a wider response from conservative Christians.

By 1977 sex education was a topic of intense debate. The Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion Bill before parliament that year proposed a general liberalisation of existing laws (for example, the law surrounding abortion which had resulted in large numbers of women going to Australia for this procedure), as well the issuing of a new educational policy document known informally as 'The Johnson Report', after its chairman, Garfield Johnson. This proposed comprehensive sex education in schools to arrest rates of teenage pregnancy. Added to this was an increasing militancy and organisation of the feminist movement. These developments were strenuously resisted by evangelical and pentecostal Christians, whose actions sharply defined the conservative Christian response and the general polarisation of attitudes.

The Ross Committee report also acted as a catalyst for the Morrows and others at the New Life Centre to explore the ACE model developed by American, Donald Howard. ACE offered an alternative but comprehensive curriculum based on literal interpretations of Scripture.[106] With a view to establishing such a school, Howard was invited to Christchurch in August 1976 and April 1977. As a result of these visits a new school based on the ACE system was established at Rangiora (Rangiora New Life School) and opened in 1979. Howard's visits also awakened an interest in other alternatives to state education, including home schooling.[107]

Anne Morrow also led efforts to counter radical feminism and the effects it was seen to have on family life, in particular an undermining of the woman's role as homemaker. From the outset, Save Our Homes was a public protest. Surveys were conducted across the city to ascertain whether or not women were in paid employment and a caravan placed in the Square for that and related promotional

[106] It was claimed there had been considerable growth of this type of school in the United States since Howard started in 1970. Five schools in that year had become 'over 950' in 1975. *The Press*, 28 August 1976, p. 22.
[107] The ACE system was suitable for home schooling providing approval had been granted by the Department of Education. Leading figures in Rangiora New Life School were Spence Donaldson (formerly the pastor at Hei Hei Revival Fellowship) and Graham McMechan, the then New Life pastor at Rangiora, but formerly a co-worker with Morrow and Ranchord at the city Revival Fellowship. McMechan later pastored at Waverley Christian Fellowship in Victoria, Australia and was still there in 1992. New Life records.

purposes, was established. Workshops were also held at Canterbury University, with representatives of feminist groups regularly attending.[108]

The Save Our Homes counter-campaign gathered momentum in May 1977 when Anne Morrow organised a conference in the Town Hall which copied the format of a United Nations (UN) Women's Convention. The conference attracted over two thousand registrations but was greeted with outrage by feminists.[109]

Another Anne Morrow initiative for a city-wide network of weekly Bible studies for women was called 'A Touch of Life'. Less well known than the very public Save Our Homes, A Touch of Life had evolved from the needs of women first evident in 1966. By August 1978 there were eighteen morning and evening Bible study groups in Christchurch. In the newsletter for that month, the 'focus [was] on mental health' with workshops available on such topics as 'inner radiance', 'imaginations', and 'anxieties'. It is notable that non-New Life women from charismatic churches were also involved in leadership roles (for example, Ivy James from Opawa Methodist).[110]

Another response of related interest was the establishment in 1977 of the Christchurch Integrity Centre based in Armagh Street whose leaders were 'pledged to promoting public morality' via 'communication, co-ordination, distribution, activities and displays' to support the work of evangelical, pentecostal and charismatic groups within the city'.

These ventures into the public realm gave political expression to what those attending the New Life Centre believed, as well as other pentecostals and charismatics in general. The moral issues of the 1970s polarised opinion, but in

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[108] These details were provided by Margaret Evans, a participant in these meetings and other Save Our Homes activities. Telephone interview, 4 July 2001.

[109] Knowles, 'Some Aspects', p. 207.

[110] A Touch of Life newsletter, August 1978; and a statement of purpose 'Neighbourhood Bible Studies'. New Life records. Intended as 'an outreach in evangelism in our streets and neighbourhood', these groups aimed 'To help each person discover for himself [sic] what the Bible says, then to apply its meaning to his own life'. Due its wide constituency leaders were asked to be sensitive to potentially divisive issues: 'If questions of DOCTRINE [sic] come up that could cause division in your group—suggest that each one search the Scriptures before the next meeting. DO NOT bring up controversial questions—YOUR PURPOSE IS OUTREACH, not DIVISION'. A 1979 Touch Of Life leaders' booklet promoted monthly prayer meetings, the reading of *Above Rubies* (a family magazine), and urged caution over the 'use of vocal gifts': 'It is a policy of the NLC that the vocal gifts are not to be used in the Bible Study groups in the homes.'

the process helped clarify and circumscribe doctrinal positions in several new areas (for example, education, women's issues, and the family). These were previously either assumed or were non-existent.

Aspects of the role of women however, remained ambiguous. The charismatic renewal (as opposed to fundamentalism or strict pentecostalism), generally encouraged women's involvement in most areas, including teaching and preaching, whether or not they should exercise gifts however, was not always clear. Based as it was on an egalitarian grasp of unity and 'the priesthood of all believers', there was no universally accepted understanding of these issues within the renewal. Who should do what, or when in meetings, tended to be determined by cultural expectations and circumstance. There are no known instances where women in leadership became divisive, but it is probable it did on occasions. Certainly the *implication* in the Save Our Homes and A Touch of Life material is that women were naturally homemakers and therefore, submissive to the husband as 'head' of the family, but the roles of 'father' and 'mother' were very much complementary and mutually-inclusive, rather than 'patriarchal' and 'exploited' (respectively), as assumed within a feminist rubric.

Involvement in various moral campaigns during the 1970s demonstrates the breadth of impact that the independent pentecostals had in Christchurch. They shared the concerns of evangelicals and other conservatives and endeavoured, by various means, to 'turn the tide'. They were consistent, committed, and at times (for example, copying the UN convention format) strategically effective in raising awareness of their cause. This also affected the structure of weekly meetings. In August 1974, for example, the Revival Fellowship held a special meeting to pray for 'government leaders, social justice, the media, and family life' issues,[111] while in August the following year Morrow invited the then Police Superintendent (and prominent Brethren) John Jamieson, to speak at a morning meeting, while he (Morrow) spoke in the evening about 'this week's ministers' delegation to the Prime Minister [Bill Rowling] and Mr Muldoon'.[112]

[111] *The Press*, 17 August 1974, p. 19.
[112] *Ibid.*, 2 August 1975, p. 26. Muldoon, then Leader of the Opposition, spoke at the Revival Fellowship on Sunday, 28 September. *The Press*, 20 September 1975, p. 21.

As was often the case however, such moves, although thoroughly genuine, emanated from a rudimentary conceptual framework shared by most conservatives and reflected a limited grasp of how to strategically engage and transform culture.

4.3.3. The Outreach Churches and a Global Vision

One further aspect of the New Life Centre which illustrates its impact on the city concerns the outreach churches. These emerged from the 'Koinonia Groups' run by Ranchord which resulted in an increased desire to serve and to form a wider fellowship.[113]

This, combined with the very practical need to accommodate the growing numbers of members and visitors to the New Life Centre in Lichfield Street and Sunday services at the Horticultural Hall, led to outreach churches being established in the suburbs.[114] The first would appear to be the Papanui-Bishopdale church in March 1975 led by evangelist John Steele. This offered a 'supporting musical programme with [the] 'Selah' group and vocalist', as well as the usual 'prayer for the sick and for baptism in the Holy Spirit', and supper with real opportunities for fellowship (Koinonia)'.[115] Over the next four years groups had also been established at Riccarton, Rangiora, Leeston, Kaiapoi, St. Albans-Shirley, Cashmere, Halswell, and Woolston as well as the Hei Hei Revival Fellowship.[116] Geographically this represents a good coverage of the city as well as the outlying areas.

In the tradition of the Full Gospel 'stream', these churches were largely independent, retaining a loose, but personal allegiance to Morrow and the New Life Centre. They lacked any deliberate or structured plan because Morrow 'just

[113] Boyce interview, 24 April 2001.
[114] In addition to the New Life Centre and Horticultural Hall, by 1973, St. Paul's Trinity Pacific Church in Cashel Street was occasionally used for the Tuesday Charismatic Bible Studies when the Lichfield Street premises were too small. Larger meetings were also held at Cashmere and Hagley High Schools as the need arose. Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001.
[115] *The Press*, 1 March 1975, p. 22.
[116] The list of pastors included: David Ravenhill, Steven Blackmore, Steven King, Gordon Rosewall, Paul Bennetts, Ron Parker, John Daysh, Don Cowey, Barclay Miller, Graham McMechan, Fred Toni and Peter Davis. Most had attended the Thorrington Bible School, this being the main source of training and preparation.

wanted to see the gospel preached throughout the city',[117] and to this end, commissioned various church members into pastoral roles. One of these leaders, John Boyce, recalls; 'there was no grand plan to determine who would go where: if you were trustworthy, caring and loyal, you might be suitable [but] the calibre of people was very high'.[118] Ranchord adds that the pastors 'had a deep commitment to each other'[119] suggesting that bonds of trust rather than organisational accountability characterised the nature of the relationship between leaders. There was however, no clear mandate for growth and the effectiveness, impact and longevity of each outreach was subject to the vagaries of transient constituencies and the availability of suitable leaders.

There was a degree of rationalisation and 'ingathering' when the larger and more permanent Majestic House building was occupied after February 1980. Most of the pastors held short tenures. Ravenhill, for example, left in April 1978 to work with his father Leonard in America, the departure being 'quite a sudden thing'[120] although he did return; Cowey and Rosewall left for missionary service, and Steele, for a pastoral role at the North Shore Faith Centre, while Blackmore was later involved with Northcote (North City) Christian Fellowship.

Some insight into the wider purpose these churches were serving is evident in the establishment of the 'Christchurch Bible School and Evangelism Course'. Increased numbers affected by the New Life Centre led to efforts to expand the ministry. This meant hand-picking and training suitable candidates. The March to November 1980 school was promoted to:

> Any person desiring to attend Bible School to study the Word of God and be involved in intensive training in the field of Evangelism is invited to make application for this full-time course to be conducted in Christchurch. The course will consist of varied subjects and much practical and evangelistic work. During the year visits will be made to many areas—New Zealand needs men and women to train and be equipped for the Lord's work to minister to people and the Body of Christ. Candidates for this intensive training course will be selected from applicants. A restricted number, as it was this year, will be chosen to attend so that time can be spent with the individual.[121]

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[117] Boyce interview, 24 April 2001.
[118] *Ibid.*
[119] Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001.
[120] Letter from Ravenhill to Gordon Gibbs, 17 April 1978, New Life records.
[121] *The Press,* 27 October 1979. As the evangelist amongst Morrow's pastors, Steele had a key role in this work.

This demonstrates the extent to which the ministry had grown by 1980. This big mission focus also entailed a need for appropriate systems and organisation, yet Morrow retained a intuitive distrust of these things. He saw church membership, for example, as a matter of being 'born again' and into 'the membership of heaven', rather than a name on a church roll. However, the development of the outreach churches and global vision necessitated a more formal sense of belonging. The new logo (adopted from about 1978) of an 'arrow to the nations' reflected the conspicuous emphasis on the new vision, and the New Life Centre was indeed, a missionary church, with particular emphasis on Asia. Another expression of this and the development of an emerging multi-cultural vision was the short-lived Chinese church held on the third floor of Majestic House in the early 1980s.

Summary

Peter Morrow's main contribution to the charismatic renewal in Christchurch was leadership at a critical juncture. He embodied personal charisma with a vital Christian faith, openness to 'the move of the Spirit', and a love for the 'Body of Christ'. As a pastor he had a natural spontaneity, sense of timing and boldness to initiate new ventures. Perhaps his greatest strength was an ability to transcend sectarian boundaries and build relationships with ministers and pastors across the spectrum of evangelical churches and also with Roman Catholics. The sympathy with historic churches may have stemmed from childhood roots in the Anglican Church and Morrow's later acceptance for pastoral and theological training within that tradition in Sydney.

These qualities found ready expression in Christchurch in the 1960s and although Morrow did not seek recognition or have a plan to establish a new church *per se,* the dynamism of his approach resulted in prominence and a 'church' which at least in part, was composed of those disenchanted with the denominational churches. His belief that the Church was larger than a denomination ('one Church that meets in many parts of the city') was readily accepted by those experiencing 'spiritual dryness' in other churches, but the critical dimension of Morrow's personality affecting the renewal was a frequently

stated preference that those who had received 'the baptism', return to their own churches. Despite the tensions this generated, there began as a result, a desire and commitment to revitalise the historic churches.[122]

Morrow arrived in Christchurch during a period of considerable demographic growth and suburban expansion. For many the teaching in denominational churches failed to maintain relevance. In a geographically flat city, where good networks of inter-church co-operation already existed, news of changed lives (such as those occurring at 'Adullam's Cave'), spread quickly. Morrow successfully infused pentecostalism into the mainstream of religious life. His insistence on people going back to their churches removed any sense of coercion regarding things 'of the Spirit' and a suspicion he was starting a new 'church'.

Morrow's preaching was linked to the Bethel Temple and Latter Rain influences of his training, but without a doctrinaire or exclusivist hard edge. The typology theology gave prominence to the Old Testament because it was seen to *conceal* truths which were later *revealed* in the New Testament, and more particularly, in the life of Jesus Christ. The Passover Lamb in Exodus, for example, became the 'type' which was fulfilled in the sacrificial 'Lamb of God'. This understanding gave Morrow's preaching a strong and constant 'cruci-centric' focus which unlike some contemporary variants of American pentecostalism, led to a rejection of the so-called 'prosperity doctrine' which he considered was more to do with personal or material gain, than genuine service. This was reflected in his use of the phrase 'suffer to follow'.

As growth occurred Morrow established an effective leadership team with Rasik Ranchord, an accountant whose strength was teaching, and from 1972, with Max Palmer, a fellow Australian, with gifts in administration. Other pastors included Graham McMechan, David Ravenhill and John Steele. It has been said that Morrow would introduce these people as complementing his own deficiencies;

[122] Owen and Muriel Woodfield recall Morrow as saying "Come and feed at our table but then go and feed your own churches". Woodfield interview, 9 September 1997.

'here is the team who are my weaknesses'.[123] In a biblical sense he later developed a 'five fold' ministry with other key personnel.[124]

Morrow's marriage to Anne Botherway in 1964 resulted in an enlarging of the work with Anne developing ministries complementing Peter's and adding much to the overall effectiveness of the Revival Fellowship. Responses to the moral issues of the seventies greatly influenced the way pentecostal and charismatic churches developed in this period. This further eroded the sectarian attitudes of some pentecostals and united them in common causes alongside charismatics as well as with evangelicals and other conservatives.

The events surrounding the purchase and fitting-out of Majestic House in Manchester Street lay outside Peter Morrow's personal giftings. They occurred when Anne was co-ordinating the Save Our Homes and A Touch of Life campaigns, but this decision, initiated by Cowey and Palmer, was a mixed blessing which set the New Life Centre on a more conspicuously institutional path representing a 'routinisation of charisma'.

Morrow's gesticulating, loose adherence to notes often meant his preaching was impulsive and could come across as authoritarian. This was reinforced by his use of the Authorised (King James) Version of the Bible,[125] and insistence on regular church attendance and a very direct style, especially in relation to prophecy.[126]

The Morrows shaped the contours of charismatic renewal in Christchurch more significantly than any other individuals in the formative years. This influence continued after the advent of CAM in 1972 and the combined impact resulted in frenetic activity and growth in all aspects of the renewal in the 1970s.

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[123] Morrow interview, 4 May 2001. Another strength in Morrow's letters was to acknowledge individuals by name, including other family members, to profusely thank people and make reference to seemingly insignificant or humorous details.

[124] Ephesians 4 verse 11 reads: 'It was he [Jesus] who gave some to be apostles, some to be prophets, some to be evangelists, and some to be pastors and teachers'.

[125] This may seem ironic given the contemporary and relevant nature of Morrow's preaching. The turn of phrase in the AV seemed to suit Morrow's theatrical style, the vocabulary of the Bethel Temple typologies, and was a time-honoured and authoritative version. Its very use seemed to represent a 'holding of the line' in the face of liberalism and secularism. For some pentecostals the AV represented a *de facto* 'liturgy'.

Morrow fitted well into the city's history of inter-church co-operation and relative lack of religious sectarianism.[127] His impact was wide, and at no time was it superficial, but it did take time to develop real depth. He gathered a group of competent and committed people around him and effectively moulded them into a team, without any personal pretensions of greatness or 'empire building'. The maturing of the New Life Centre brought with it a natural pull towards institutionalism and an increased need for organisation, but these areas were outside Morrow's personal strengths or interests.

The following chapter explores the wider variables of the charismatic renewal and its rise during the 1970s. This growth paralleled events connected with the Morrows and the Revival Fellowship but was much broader as well.

Postscript

Peter Morrow's ability to function as a pastor was cut short when he was viciously assaulted in 1987. Although strictly outside the years covered in this study, brief mention of this event and its aftermath is appropriate.

Morrow sustained severe head and neck injuries from a machete attack early in the morning of Thursday, 17 September 1987 at his home in Thorrington Road. The man responsible was a Vietnam veteran and former parishioner at the New Life Centre. With no obvious motive, the attacker believed Morrow was controlling and had given him bad counsel over a personal problem some years previously. Morrow's two sons, John and David both received cuts to their arms and heads, and David, a fractured skull. Anne was attending a prayer meeting in Perth at the time.

In a testimony to their depth of character, the Morrows offered the assailant forgiveness. In a magazine article entitled 'I Have Forgiven My Attacker', the writer noted that:

> "I have forgiven him", says the softly-spoken pastor with a smile, ...

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[126] The Boyces recall an occasion where Morrow walked up to them and publicly rebuked them to 'sort things out' meaning, 'get in a right place with God'. Boyce interview, 24 April 2001.
[127] See 5.2.3, pp. 162-68.

> Although Peter was nearly killed, he regards the experience as a positive one. ...
>
> *****
>
> Peter's forgiveness is remarkable enough after a shocking experience that would fill most men with hatred and vengeance. But more remarkable still is his wife Anne who has befriended the family of her husband's attacker.
>
> While Peter lay in his hospital bed, Anne invited his attacker's family to her home.[128]

Morrow made a good recovery and continued to minister, although in a reduced capacity. In more recent years, however, his health failed with delayed onset Alzheimers Disease.

In late July 2001, Morrow was admitted to hospital with pneumonia. He never recovered and died in the early hours of Sunday 5 August, surrounded by most of his family. The funeral was at Majestic House on Thursday 9 August. An e-mail letter from international pentecostal leader, Derek Prince—himself now very elderly—was read out. Prince made reference to Morrow's commitment being a personal inspiration.

As in the heady days of the 1950s and 1960s, so it was in his later years—very little about Peter Morrow's life was ordinary or predictable.

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[128] *New Zealand Women's Weekly*, 9 May 1988, p. 8. Until this, the only debilitating health problem for Morrow affecting his ministry had been a throat operation in late 1977. For other material pertaining to the attack see (selected articles): *The Press*, 'Attacker Judged Insane', 6 February 1988, p. 9; 'Pastor 'Satisfactory' after early-morning knife attack', 19 September 1987; *Christchurch Star*, 'Police praise son's bravery', 17 September 1987, and the *Challenge Weekly*, 'Pastor and Sons survive murder attempt', 25 September 1987.

Chapter 5

'A change from "a rather stagnant religious society" '[1] The Growth of the City Renewal 1962-1977

This chapter explores how and why charismatic renewal became prominent in Christchurch. By the mid-1970s renewal was being integrated into the life and ministry of a large number of churches and affecting outreaches and public events, while retaining much of the enthusiasm first evident a decade before.

The previous chapter introduced the renewal in Christchurch through an account of Peter Morrow and the Revival Fellowship. The focus now extends to developments within the greater city and an analysis of the renewal's characteristics and activities and an identification of variables facilitating its maturity into a significant phenomenon.

Morrow was an initial salient but his insistence that people affected by 'the Spirit' return to their own churches, was only a beginning. Change in the churches and the wider culture were also essential if charismatic influence was to be extended. Without this supporting context, the *charismata* may have become little more than what sociologist Bryan Wilson called an 'introversionist' sect where marginalised believers seek meaning within enclosed communities.[2]

The growth of the renewal was frenetic and intense but ultimately unsustainable. A degree of institutionalism was part of the aim of early charismatics who desired the 'move of the Spirit' in their churches, but without co-ordinated leadership and channelled, sustained resources to ensure vitality remained, the momentum was starting to ebb in the late 1970s.[3]

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[1] This is from a comment by Scottish charismatic Thomas Smail when in Christchurch in April 1974. See 5.2.2, p. 159.

[2] Cited here in Michael Hill's chapter: 'The Sectarian Contribution—Do sects thrive while churches languish?' in Colless and Donovan (Eds) *Religion in New Zealand Society*, pp. 124-25. Also Colin Brown's chapters; 'The Ecumenical Contribution', pp. 81-97, and 'The Charismatic Contribution—How significant is the Charismatic Movement?', pp. 99-114, are valuable and will be referred to throughout this chapter.

5.1. Changing Christchurch

5.1.1. Cultural Context

New Zealand society after 1945 was characterised by a post-war re-adjustment of the economy and a restoration of the social pattern temporarily interrupted by war. Although reliance on Britain continued, events during the conflict had resulted in a new defence relationship with Australia and the United States in 1951 (the ANZUS alliance). Internationally, America consolidated its position as a dominant world power as did the Soviet Union. This gave rise to a divide between East and West known as the Cold War. The opposing political ideologies generated fear of an international nuclear crisis, and in the West, genuine concern that communism would continue to spread as indeed it had to China in 1949 and throughout South East Asia during the 1950s.

The most immediate catalyst for change in New Zealand, however, lay in the large numbers being born after the war. In the two decades after 1945 this demographic group took on characteristics separating it sharply from the pre-war generations. Official figures indicate the scale of population change that occurred in this period.[4]

By the 1960s this generation—the so-called baby boomers—became teenagers and young adults. All sectors of New Zealand society; schools, welfare services, and churches, were profoundly affected by the maturity of this age group, although its impact was not just demographic; the sense of separation spawned a youth culture identified by changing attitudes to fashion, sexual behaviour and a new genre of music.[5] Rock and roll was a brand of music as well as a style of dance; but it was more then these things. It also encapsulated an uninhibited lifestyle that threatened the *status quo*.

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[3] See Chapter 8.

[4] Between 1946 and 1965, 1.125 million babies were born in New Zealand. This was over 77 percent more than in the 20 years before the baby boom (1926-1945), when 634,000 babies were born. At the start of the baby boom, the New Zealand population was 1.7 million, by 1966 it had risen to 2.7 million. *New Zealand Now—Baby Boomers* (Wellington: Statistics New Zealand, 1995), p. 1.

[5] 'In the 1960s the oldest of the boomers reached their teenage years. This introduced a long phase of a youth-dominated New Zealand culture'. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

For the Christian churches, however, the 1940s and 1950s were prosperous years. The NCC was established and very active in these decades,[6] new youth movements emerged,[7] and churches thrived, particularly in the expanding suburbs.[8] But in the 1960s the church in New Zealand, as in other western societies, was facing unprecedented challenges. In normal circumstances habits of religion are part of the 'world-taken-for-granted' inherited by one generation from another. Where there is continuity across the generations, popular beliefs and practices are maintained, but restoring a tradition after serious or prolonged disruption, or, as in the 1960s, when there is growing awareness of change, involves the much more demanding task of altering the norms of social and religious behaviour in a community.

Both conservatives and liberals sought to remain *relevant* in a decade of sweeping cultural change. Their presuppositions however, were very different. The ecumenical and justice causes that made the NCC (and later the WCC[9]) attractive to liberal clergy were intended to give the church a strong voice for unity in a troubled world. For many of these leaders, the new theology was welcomed as a necessary aspect of the quest to remain relevant; whereas conservatives tended to be more sensitive to threats both real and perceived. As it had been for fundamentalists at the turn of the twentieth century in the reaction to modernity, so it was for many conservatives including evangelicals in the early 1960s. The 'enemy' was still atheism, but this time it was cloaked in a communist veil.

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[6] 'All in all [Colin Brown notes of the NCC] the 1950s were a successful decade in the NCC's history. It had lived down some early suspicions, finance and organisation generally were increasing on a sounder base Inter-Church Aid had become firmly established, well-organised and diversified, several new ventures such as prison chaplaincies prospered, and major conferences were moderate successes'. *Forty Years On*, p. 117. It should be added that although liberal clergy found a natural 'home' in the NCC, the organisation was constitutionally non-sectarian and also embraced evangelicals, including Graham (see 5.1.2, pp. 136-37).

[7] Youth For Christ was formed in America in 1944 and a New Zealand arm was established in Auckland in 1948. The first ecumenical Youth Conference in New Zealand was held that year at Woodbourne, near Blenheim, and a New Life Movement within the Presbyterian Church was established in 1949.

[8] In the Presbyterian Church alone, for example, 'The 1950s were years of confidence and expansion. Between...June 1949 and 1960, 138 new parishes were established, and most of these were in cities and provincial towns'. James Veitch, '1961-1990—Towards the Church for a New Era', in Dennis McEldowney (Ed) *Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840-1990* (Wellington: The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1990), p. 144.

[9] Formally constituted in Amsterdam in 1948.

The new evangelicalism of Billy Graham had obvious appeal although its climax ('decisions for Christ') still emphasised the basic tenet of conversion. In the 1960s this was not so much invalid as it was inadequate; an aggressively secular and permissive society made more animated and 'empowered' expressions of the faith, such as pentecostalism and charismatic renewal, increasingly attractive. Moreover, it was soon apparent that the role and influence of the conservative churches could no longer be assumed or asserted with confidence, and, in light of the heated theological debates later in the decade, the conservative Judeo-Christian ethic no longer held a prominent or assumed status.

The generation gap accentuated the tensions, particularly in the cities, including Christchurch. As early as 1956, for example, there was a recognised 'street culture' with large numbers of youths congregating in the central city,[10] but not all social indicators were disparaging; the affluence of the 1950s meant increasing numbers of baby boomers were able to attend university in the 1960s,[11] although the momentum of a youth culture also created student radicals later in the decade. For some, changing attitudes towards sex and music evolved into support for Marxism and political revolution especially in light of the Vietnam War.

The conflict in South East Asia, although geographically removed from Christchurch, was, as a result of the new medium of television,[12] becoming increasingly dominant in the general consciousness. Awareness of the issues drew many Christians, including prominent clergy, into the political fray. With reference to developments in Christchurch in this period, Jim McAloon notes:

> As elsewhere, much radical energy was consumed by the Vietnam War. In 1965 the Joint Committee on Vietnam was set up by the Quakers, CND [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament], the Socialist Forum, the Trades and Labour Council and other pacifist groups and individuals. Clergy like David

[10] According to the authors of a special report: 'Members of street society [sic] could be recognised by a combination of dress and behaviour. ...Members of street society are all young. ...' D. M. Crowther (Ed) 'Street Society in Christchurch', Psychological Report No. 3, (Christchurch: Department of Psychology, Canterbury University College, 1956), p. 38.

[11] This trend intensified in later decades: 'Overall, university enrolments climbed from 15 per 1,000 persons of working age (15-64) in 1966 to 39 per 1,000 in 1991'. *New Zealand Now—Baby Boomers*, p. 31.

[12] Television transmission began in Christchurch on 1 June 1961. As the third main centre to receive the service, the local channel was known as 'CHTV3'.

> Taylor, Alan Brash and Allan Pyatt spoke against the war, and their influence did much to bring many other Christians into the movement.[13]

The sense of powerlessness and irrelevance affecting Christian churches was particularly felt by conservatives because their circumscribed doctrines were less accommodating of modernity than liberal beliefs. For example, Alan Brash's ecumenism and commitment to social justice issues, including pacifism, aligned more easily with secular protest causes, while for evangelicals such as Martin Sullivan, the recently retired Dean of Christchurch,[14] the Church had also to understand its role in standing apart from culture. Like Brash, Sullivan was deeply involved in the ecumenical movement, but for him, the Church was not to get too closely embroiled in worldly causes. In 1962 at the end of his tenure as Dean he reflected that:

> Perhaps the Church has had too easy a time—perhaps it is too entrenched, too closely resembling the world, too much part of it. You may say to me at this point: isn't that being involved—and the answer is: 'no'. Inevitably the church [sic] must be caught up at the heart of things but it is not necessary that it should beat *with* that heart—more often it may have to beat *against* it. Because whilst it's *in* the world it is not *of* the world.[15]

This emphasis on 'other worldliness', it will be recalled, is also frequently associated with religious enthusiasm.

The cultural context of the sixties assisted renewal in at least three ways. Firstly, for religious conservatives, it identified a new and insidious 'enemy' in communism. This was a threat not just to New Zealand society as part of a wider western alliance of nations, but it also struck at the core of Christian belief as an alternative and 'godless' ideology. Against such perceptions, a relevant and 'empowered' expression of belief looked attractive, especially in relation to

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[13] 'Radical Christchurch' in Cookson and Dunstall (Eds), *Southern Capital*, p. 189. Brash's biographer, Alison O' Grady adds that: 'Christchurch is a very English city with a reputation for being conservative in its attitudes. This reputation is undeserved, because some of the most radical, social and religious movements have had their genesis in this garden city'. *Alan Brash*, p. 51. Taylor was an Anglican cleric and General Secretary of the NCC from 1964 until June 1974. In that role he attended the Eucharistic Congress at Melbourne in early 1973. See 'Feeling of Love Prevailed', *The Press,* 10 March 1973, p. 20.

[14] 'My own simple faith [Sullivan wrote] is rooted in my evangelical training and conviction. ...' 'Valedictory', *A Dean Speaks to New Zealand* (Christchurch: Dunford Publications, 1962), p. 53. It should be added, however, that Sullivan's training at St. John's College in the 1930s was not 'evangelical' but more Anglo-Catholic and his own theological leanings and churchmanship were towards the liberal end of spectrum. At the same time he was 'evangelical' in the sense of seeking out every opportunity he could to tell the 'good news'.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

the large and vulnerable constituency of youth needing to hear the gospel. Secondly, the baby boom phenomenon had reaffirmed for church leaders the importance of reaching youth. Against the maelstrom of change this assumed renewed importance. The new evangelicalism of Graham only went so far ('decisions') and the crusade meetings were one-off events. Charismatic renewal however, retained the conversionist emphasis but took it further into the realms of *experiencing God* through on-going spiritual encounter.

And thirdly, the emerging trend towards declining attendance in the historic churches accentuated the need for both liberal and conservative Christianity to remain relevant. The trend was gradual; for example, in a survey conducted in Christchurch in June 1962—the month Morrow arrived in the city—71 percent of 10 to 14 year-olds still participated in some form religious activity in the mainline churches; a higher figure than for other age groups.[16] But in the turbulent years that lay ahead there was no guarantee this level of attendance (some of it likely to be nominal anyway[17]), would remain.

Most leaders were aware of the problems. Those with liberal sympathies sought new direction in structural developments such as the ecumenism of the NCC, while some also embraced the new theology. For conservatives, particularly evangelicals, the 1960s context made some more receptive to expressions previously the preserve of Pentecostals, and the charismatic renewal effectively bridged this gap.[18]

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[16] J. J. Mol, 'Church Attendance in Christchurch New Zealand—A Social Research Project' (Christchurch: Department of Psychology and Sociology, Canterbury University, 1962), p. 6.

[17] 'Our figures seem to indicate that children are expected to attend church and Sunday School because parents regard this in some vague way as a good thing'. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[18] Addressing world instability was not, however, confined to the Christian churches. Christchurch also had active Rationalist, Theosophical and Psychic Research Societies, Christadelphian and British-Israel World Federation Churches, each offering its own perspective. The Christadelphians interpreted events in eschatological terms including the Cuban Missile Crisis, the assassination of President Kennedy and Vietnam. Close attention was paid to Israel as a portent of wider cataclysmic happenings. Christchurch also had a Christian Science Church promoting 'healing and testimony' meetings, and a Spiritualist Church offering 'Healing and Floral Readings'. The presence of these groups indicates that testimony and divine healing were not solely the preserve of pentecostals in the pre-charismatic period.

5.1.2. Evangelical and Pentecostal Developments

Charismatic renewal combined the strengths of evangelicalism and pentecostalism, by extending the former and moderating the latter within the accommodating and enabling context of the 1960s. Local developments were also significant in the immediate pre-charismatic years.

Some time before he arrived in the city, the anticipation of Billy Graham's visit provided a fillip for local evangelical activity. As early as February 1958, for example, the YMCA held a 'Night of Prayer for World-Wide Revival',[19] while closer to the crusade, a Keswick-sponsored 'Special Prayer Meeting' was held on Good Friday, 1959,[20] and, as a result of a combined churches' campaign committee initiative, a crowd of '5,000 young people marched through the streets singing 'Onward Christian Soldiers' one Sunday afternoon and then swelled the crowd in Cathedral Square to 10,000 for the opening meeting'.[21]

The NCC first issued an invitation to Graham in 1955 but he was unavailable. When the discussion was reopened in 1957 and a further invitation issued, Graham and his team accepted.[22] The NCC's national office was in Christchurch, and local clergy, notably General Secretary Alan Brash, were prominent in its activities.[23] An article published at the time of the crusade noted that 'initial moves [were made] in Christchurch',[24] which is not surprising given the NCC's formation came from a need for unity first expressed among local clergy during the 1930s Depression. This and subsequent events built upon the history of

[19] *The Press,* 1 February 1958, p. 18. Preachers, too, were seizing upon the opportunity to promote Graham. Lawrence Silcock, the regular minister at Colombo Street Baptist, for example, spoke on 'Billy Graham: The Man, his method and message'. *The Press,* 4 April 1959, p. 11.
[20] *Ibid.,* 17 March 1959, p. 10.
[21] *The Press,* 8 April 1959, p. 12.
[22] Hutchinson and Wilson, *Let The People Rejoice*, p. 19.
[23] Brash had ministered for four years at St. Giles, Papanui, in the 1950s, and much later (in 1978) became Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. He has been described as 'by far the single most potent single influence' on the ecumenical movement in New Zealand. Veitch, '1961-1990' in McEldowney (Ed) *Presbyterians in Aotearoa,* p. 169. The South Island chairman for the crusade was Roland Hart, the then minister at Oxford Street Baptist, and the vice-chairman was E. A (Eric) Gowing from St. John's Latimer Square (who had also been on the Executive of the NCC, and shortly after (1960) became a Bishop in the Auckland Diocese). See also O' Grady, *Alan Brash,* 'Ecumenical Appointment', pp. 51-66.
[24] 'Origin of New Zealand Crusade—Initial Move in Christchurch', *The Press,* 8 April 1959, p. 12. It is unclear from this report however, if the initiative came from Christchurch members, or, by virtue of the fact the NCC headquarters were in the city. The origins of the NCC are more complex than the Depression of the 1930s,

inter-church co-operation that had characterised Christian witness since the early years. The Graham crusade however, spawned new activity in this direction, much to the delight of evangelicals.

After the crusade it was clear that Graham's methods provided a model for local church leaders.[25] As he was leaving Christchurch for Sydney, Graham issued a specific call to continue the work. Addressing the more than 1,100 people who had assembled for the farewell at Harewood airport, he reported to a press conference:

> I believe there is a spiritual hunger in New Zealand. I believe there is also a spiritual awakening in New Zealand and my prayer is that the churches will meet their responsibilities in leading a continuation of this spiritual awakening. Masses of people have indicated they want it. Unfortunately some ministers may want to maintain a status quo. They may not want their people disturbed. Some churches have on the outside door 'do not disturb'. This is true in the United States, though I do not know if it is the case in New Zealand. But when the Spirit of God moves in a community, the church cannot help but be disturbed. It is up to the church to answer to the new awakening.[26]

A number of church leaders in Christchurch, as in other centres, took this seriously. Many clung to Graham's name and methods especially when it came to reaching youth. As late as May 1962, for example—almost three years after the crusade—a visiting Scottish preacher, Ralph Mitchell, was promoted simply as 'Billy Graham's Associate', and although the evening meeting on 19 May at the Civic Theatre had an 'Accent on Youth', the overriding aim was to 'Rekindle the Crusade Spirit'.[27] Similarly, in an advertisement for the Graham film 'Decade of Decision', shown at several venues around the city, it was suggested, somewhat beguilingly, that 'Billy Graham's [is] Coming to the Suburbs'.[28]

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despite important developments in that decade, see Brown, *Forty Years On,* Chapter 1, 'New Zealand and the Churches in 1941', pp. 1-16.

[25] This appeared to be a national trend if the *Challenge* newspaper is any indication. The writer examined all issues from 1963 to 1965 and the paper chronicled Graham's activities with monotonous regularity across that period. *Challenge* contained comparatively little local material but was very evangelical and missionary-centred in ethos. For more details on the crusade meetings, including those in Christchurch, see Gilling, 'Old, Old Story', especially Chapter 5, pp. 240-95.

[26] Hutchinson and Wilson, *Let The People Rejoice,* p. 130.

[27] *The Press,* 12 May 1962, p. 26.

[28] *The Press,* 1 September 1962, p. 19.

Although relying heavily on the events of April 1959, there was also an attempt to relate to present issues. At no time was the securing of 'decisions' overshadowed but much was also made of the threat which 'godless communism' posed to the democratic West.[29]

In Christchurch, as elsewhere, reaching youth was identified as a major challenge. Accurately presaging the reality that intensified later in the decade, the Dean of Christchurch Martin Sullivan, spoke for many in his own and other denominations when, in his 1961 address to Synod, he said:

> ...I refer now to the influence of the Church upon our adolescents and post-adolescents. I have no desire to sit in judgement. This is a moment for a calm appraisal, but the plain fact is that the claims of the Christian faith, particularly in the realms of conduct and behaviour, are being seriously challenged, ignored or even flouted. What is the reason for this? It is obvious that the ground under our feet has shifted considerably and noticeably within a generation. Many of the old landmarks and fences have either been removed, or have fallen down, or have been taken out to distant perimeters. The life of the adolescent in my generation was much less complex than is that facing the growing girl or boy today. ...The disciplines of life were easier to improve and to accept. Undoubtedly there was rebellion, but it was less marked because its effect were not so obvious to the public eye.
>
> Today the scene is different. A whole new world has emerged since the end of the last war. The youngster of sixteen has grown up in the Welfare State and known no other economy.[30] He has heard nothing but the talk of wars and rumours of wars. He lives perpetually under the threat of the bomb and its annihilating consequences. ...If [however], he lives in a perilous age, he nevertheless finds it exciting, but this excitement before long turns to bewilderment. At this point he faces real problems. He asks eagerly for the reasons which should govern his attitude. These we must offer him, not bluntly and authoritatively, but in a manner which will convince and hold him. ...
>
> It is fashionable to blame the home for the troubles of youth. ...If a mother and father feel that the Church has something to offer...then they must look to their own churchmanship first. ...If those seriously concerned about

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[29] These were topics specifically referred to in crusade addresses. The threat was wider than the Cold War, as one article notes: 'The Graham Crusades may be viewed as 'symbolic crusades' for 'decency' in the tradition of the temperance movement. They serve as a rallying point for people who feel that their way of life is threatened by real changes in society...they are a rational response to stress'. Donald A. Clelland, Thomas C. Hood, C. M. Lipsey, and Ronald Wimberley, 'In the Company of the Converted: Characteristics of a Billy Graham Crusade Audience'. *Sociological Analysis,* Vol. 35, No. 1, Spring 1974, p. 55.

[30] Sullivan had strong views on this topic as well. He saw the welfare state as itself being in 'adolescence': 'The Welfare State is here to stay. It has enormous privileges to confer. It calls for an accompanying responsibility on our part to learn how to handle it. If it has become a gawky adolescent on the verge of delinquency we need to remember that we fathered it. ...' *A Dean Speaks to New Zealand,* p. 6.

> this problem were to sit down together and face it honestly we might see the beginning of an advance.[31]

This was an accurate, if slightly premature assessment. However any appearance of ecclesiastical well-being which might have characterised the previous decade was being steadily challenged as the 1960s progressed.

Traditional leaders such as those in the Anglican Diocese, were able to articulate the problem but were unsure as to what 'an advance', or solution might be.[32] Those involved in the Graham meetings may have been buoyed by the results[33], but although attempts to appropriate crusade methods undoubtedly had impact, reaching the city's youth *en masse* was indeed a demanding task. Pentecostal outreaches (Wheeler's Addington meetings, for example), were attempting to do the same thing, and while able to draw on the popularity of the American healing evangelists, this approach was not yet mainstream in the early 1960s. The large numbers affected by Morrow's meetings after 1965 reached a range of people, including (but not exclusively) teenagers and youth.

For all its appeal, the 'crusade spirit' could not be sustained and local initiatives within the churches and beyond were more evident after 1962. Youth and revival were typical themes—within a pre-charismatic framework. Particularly active were the Evangelical Alliance and YFC. The frequency of outreaches increased in the early 1960s; the Alliance, for example, held a month of evangelistic meetings in Christchurch in May 1963. These were notable for their wide coverage of the city. Michael Perrott spoke at the Salvation Army Citadel, to a Keswick group at Trinity Congregational Church, to the Bible Training Institute at

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[31] *Year Book, 1961*, p. 20. The following year Sullivan accepted a position in London (see *Year Book, 1962*, p. 17). Teenagers dominated the national Age-Sex pyramid in the 1960s. In 1956, for example, those aged 10 to 19 years comprised 15.7 percent of the total population; by 1971, the equivalent figure was 19.7 percent, which was greater than any comparable age range. *Population and Migration, Part A—Population 1979-1980* (Wellington: Department of Statistics, 1981, Diagram C), p. 13. Christchurch's population (total urban area) grew from 174,221 in 1951 to 229,671 in 1961 (54,450 net), and to 275,958 in 1971. This was a net increase on the 1961 figure of 46,287, or over 4,600 per annum. From census statistics supplied by Jean Sharfe, 12 August 1997. It can be assumed that the dominance of 10 to 19 year-olds reflects, at least in broad measure, the national figures, although real or actual growth is difficult to ascertain due to local government boundary amalgamations.

[32] When it did 'arrive' the renewal was treated with great suspicion by some leaders, including Bishop Allan Pyatt. See 5.1.3, p. 149.

[33] The estimated combined attendance at the Christchurch meetings was 220,000. Hutchinson and Wilson, *Let The People Rejoice*, Appendix C, p. 142.

St. Paul's Presbyterian, Riccarton Baptist, Cashmere Hills' Presbyterian, Rutland Street Chapel and Bryndwr Gospel Chapel.[34]

Despite Anne Morrow's observation that Spirit baptism 'was causing real pain' amongst YFC workers at the time,[35] this well-established organisation was using rallies to attract and evangelise youth.[36] The start-of-year event in January 1962 at the Civic Theatre was advertised as 'a bright reunion rally' and featured the 'dramatic' film 'In Times Like These'—Teens! Make this a night out that's different'.[37]

Another YFC method was 'house parties'. One such event was a weekend with Aboriginal evangelist Ben Mason in November 1963, while a year later a meeting at Motukarara attended by 70 young people was said to be 'a challenge of complete surrender to Christ and a message of spiritual victory'.[38] The YMCA chapel was a frequently-used venue for YFC 'revival prayer meetings'.[39]

For their part, the established pentecostal churches in Christchurch in the late 1950s and early sixties were relatively few in number and not conspicuously connected to other evangelical developments.[40] The popularity of Oral Roberts however, provided a distinctive focus which these churches found useful. In January 1958, a Roberts Campaign film was being screened at Sydenham AOG,[41] and it appears that later films were a popular attraction well into the 1960s.

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[34] *Challenge,* 24 April 1963, pages 3 and 11.
[35] Morrow interview, 12 March 2001. Anne Morrow was YFC treasurer in the early 1960s.
[36] YFC had expanded into Oamaru and Nelson by May 1963. Early meetings in those centres attracted 120 and 330 people (respectively), with the Nelson meeting led by Christchurch Director, Malcolm Miles (*Challenge,* 15 May 1963, p. 11). Miles, a Baptist, had also been Secretary of the Christchurch Committee for the Graham Crusade. Hutchinson and Wilson, *Let the People Rejoice,* Appendix A, p. 140.
[37] *The Press,* 20 January 1962, p. 17. The event itself was on Saturday, 27 January.
[38] *Challenge,* 9 November 1963, p. 11, and also 28 November 1964, p. 11. The key speakers at the latter meeting were Alex Munro (from Hornby Presbyterian) and Barry Reed. In the 'hippie' era of the early 1970s, the house parties were supplemented by 'cush-in's. See *The Press,* 'Jesus Gathering', 14 October 1972, p. 25.
[39] See for example, the meeting of Friday, July 7 1961, 'come when you can—go when you must. Hourly sessions led by responsible Christian leaders. Convened by YFC'. *The Press,* 1 July 1961, p. 19.
[40] Pastor of the City Apostolic in a later period (from 1969), William (Billy) Pearson, noted that the church was 'traditionally pentecostal in form and Apostolic in government...we mixed little with other churches'. Pearson interview, 22 October 1997.
[41] *The Press,* 11 January 1958, p. 21. The church was also advertised in this period as 'Colombo Street AOG'.

Like those in the historic churches, pentecostal leaders sensed the need for concerted action in the 1960s.[42] Sydenham AOG pastor Ralph Read promoted traditional pentecostal distinctives including 'the baptism' and healing,[43] while in the Apostolic Church, a new national initiative left nothing to chance. During a council meeting in Wellington during (April) Easter 1960 it was felt necessary, as Worsfold explains, to:

> ...get a clear articulation of the Church's distinctive purpose and mission, the need for spiritual renewal was seen as a necessity lest the movement become routinised and over-institutionalised thus as a result of serious meditation and pooling of proposals a manifesto was drawn up which sought to promote a common object and a spontaneous expression and manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the Church.[44]

While in the manifesto that resulted, it was said that:

> "The clamant call of this hour is to look ahead and not back, for if we dwell too much in the past we shall lose the future. We are saved by hope and not by memory. Praise the Lord for the good old days, but the best is yet to be." [45]

Then, with a sense of anticipation not perhaps evident in pentecostal circles since the Wigglesworth visits of the 1920s, the writer continued:

> "We are absolutely convinced that when we present this Full Gospel with unwavering confidence in the power of God, He will confirm His word with those signs and wonders which he has promised shall accompany the preaching of His word. We confidently expect these things to happen. ...
>
> "Thus our purpose is that following immediately on the Convention, a full month of intensive preparation with creative prayer and with times of fasting shall be arranged in all assemblies throughout the Dominion. Then simultaneously in every district and evangelistic campaign should be commenced, conducted by the local minister, in full co-operation with the presbytery and the saints involved, and that such efforts should be continued periodically throughout the year, according to the local conditions and needs that obtain." [46]

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[42] An early initiative in the effort to reach youth, and one pre-dating the renewal, were programmes run by T. H. Whiting of the Sydenham AOG from the early 1950s. This was referred to in the Crowther Report as 'Pastor Whiting's Club' (p. 39), see also Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements,* p. 213.

[43] Typical in this regard was the youth service on Saturday, 8 July 1961; 'The Baptism of the Holy Ghost'. Hear Pentecostal Youth Testify [and] Hear a panel of Young People Answer Questions Concerning this Subject'. *The Press,* 8 July 1961, p. 19.

[44] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 283

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 284.

[46] *Ibid,* pages 284 and 285.

> "This is no time to be sitting at ease in Zion. Stop feeling after the celestial harp strings—start unsheathing the sword of the Spirit. It is a call to arms, a rallying call to the standard of the King." [47]

The slogan adopted was 'Get Right with God!'. The resulting tent crusades and missions included Christchurch and the ministry of Norman White in November 1961.[48] These were held at a tent on North Beach, and, as with the AOG outreaches, careful use was made of the Roberts films. In an advertisement for Roberts's 'The Anointing of the Holy Spirit', it was also noted that, 'The need of the hour is Holy Ghost power. Thousands of Christians in New Zealand are conscious of their need of something more. This is the answer; a Holy Ghost empowered life. You cannot be anointed of the Spirit until you are born of the Spirit—make your mind up to attend, you'll feel right at home in the friendly atmosphere of the tent'.[49]

Later, the advertising became even more overt:

> If you are bound by sin, habit, fear, frustration, sickness or any power of the devil, you can be set free. Come and see what God's Word the Bible has to say about your part in the programme of the liberation of our generation. You need this message, God needs you as a messenger...New Zealand's only hope in the face of Godless communism and downright apathy is a Holy Ghost revival. Bible preaching creates Bible believing which produces Bible results. ...Don't leave it a day longer!'[50]

This illustrates the exclusive—and for many evangelicals, alienating—stance adopted by the established pentecostals. While identification of the problem—'godless communism'—was shared by leaders outside pentecostalism, the sub-text strongly suggests other churches were offering 'less than' a full ministry by excluding a 'Holy Ghost revival'. The hard imperatives are in contrast to the more inclusive approach adopted by Morrow a short time later, and illustrate the extent to which some pentecostals at this juncture were in opposition to those in the historic churches. The charismatic renewal was to change this, but at this time, many pentecostals were polarised against other believers.

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[47] *Loc. cit.*

[48] As an evangelist with the Apostolic Church, White worked as part of a team and, according to Anne Morrow, he had 'some connections with YFC'. Morrow interview, 12 March 2001. White was also active in the southern North Island including Feilding, Palmerston North, Levin and Norsewood. *Ibid.*, p. 299.

[49] *The Press*, 18 November 1961, p. 18.

5.1.3. Advent and Reaction

It would appear as the 1960s progressed that conservatives and evangelicals found it increasingly difficult to avoid 'neo-pentecostal' influence. An article by Dan Smith in *Challenge* in May 1963, for example; 'The Ministry of the Holy Spirit', while not denying 'second blessing' baptism, stopped short of affirming that belief, adopting instead a moderate position concluding that:

> When we savingly believe in the Lord Jesus, His Spirit comes into our spirit which before was dead because of sin to the reality of God and all spiritual and heavenly things. He must then, as opportunity is afforded Him, extend His influence and control to the powers of the soul and thus transform them into vessels for expressing the life and purpose of God in Christ.[51]

As other *Challenge* articles indicate, interest in renewal and increased outreach activity were one thing, but the preservation of doctrine and order, were another. This was certainly the position of the Westminster Fellowship, which had been active in New Zealand since 1950.[52] Reflecting the quickened tempo and felt need to respond, the first national conference was held in Palmerston North in September 1964. The keynote address from Arthur Gunn was 'A Positive Approach to the Ecumenical Movement', and the tenor of the speech gave tentative support to church union, but not 'union which for emotional reasons would surrender the great truths and insights of its Reformation heritage'.[53]

This was a month after a seminal charismatic conference at Massey University which offered another interpretation of 'union'. [54] The advertising circular for this event read (in part); 'the Holy Spirit of God is wanting to work in Apostolic power through a fully-functioning local body, fed and led and governed by spiritual elders, ...'[55] The Westminster Fellowship reasserted its own stance however, that 'the Fellowship is dedicated to the renewal of the Church in our

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[50] *Ibid.*, November 25 1961, p. 19.
[51] *Challenge*, 1 May 1963, p. 8.
[52] The motive was to '...explain, expound and defend our Reformed heritage of doctrine, worship and church order, and to stimulate prayer, strengthen fellowship [and] promote a deeper spiritual life, [as well as] encourage effective evangelism'. 'Westminster Fellowship Holds First National Conference', *Challenge*, 19 September 1964, p. 3. The theme was 'For the Renewal of the Church' with an average attendance of over 300. The article also noted that the Fellowship had over 90 minister members and 1,000 lay people.
[53] *Ibid.*
[54] See also 7.1.1 (p. 231) for more on this conference.

time. It witnesses to the fullness and adequacy of the conservative evangelical faith through rallies, conferences and the bi-monthly Journal, the *Evangelical Presbyterian*.[56]

Although beyond Christchurch, these two very different perspectives on 'renewal' capture the tensions beginning to be experienced in this period. It is also significant that Arthur Gunn, a conservative Presbyterian, later advised the Reformed Church when its leadership discussed the charismatic renewal in the 1970s.[57] That the tendrils of renewal had created sufficient attention even to be considered by those in the Reformed Church demonstrates its growing significance.

Like other conservatives, the Brethren Assemblies had also been aware of and sensitive to charismatic developments. In Christchurch, at least, frequent reference was made to 'revival' meetings.[58]

Among the earliest charismatic influences on the assemblies was English preacher Campbell McAlpine who spoke at Bryndwr, Waltham and Riccarton Gospel Chapels in August 1959. Although promoted as an 'Evangelist and Bible Teacher',[59] among his topics on 20 August at Bryndwr was 'How to Experience the Power of the Holy Spirit in your life'.[60] His subsequent ministry was with compatriot Arthur Wallis, whose 1956 book *In the Day of Thy Power* was being promoted in New Zealand in 1963.[61] Controversy increased when they embarked on their 'Tell New Zealand' crusade. Wallis has been described as 'one of the

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[55] From a conference brochure cited in Lineham, 'Tongues Must Cease', p. 38.
[56] *Challenge,* 19 September 1964, p. 3.
[57] Gunn's mimeographed paper 'A History of Modern Pentecostalism' (n.d., circa 1974) contains a number of sub-sections including 'Pagan Origins' (p. 2) and 'Tongues Are Not Known To Main Stream Christianity' (p. 6) which indicate his perspective. He was then Minister at St. Andrew's in Manurewa (South Auckland).
[58] An early example were evening meetings with a 'Mr G. Rawlings' at Forrester's Hall in July, 1961. These were advertised as 'Revival Meetings With the Gospel of the Kingdom' and included communion. *The Press,* 1 July 1961, p. 19.
[59] *The Press,* 8 August 1959, p. 20.
[60] *Ibid.,* 15 August 1959, p. 20. McAlpine was given plenty of publicity and seemingly very popular; 'Crowded Meetings. Come Early!' *The Press,* 22 August 1959, p. 19.
[61] An endorsement in *Challenge* reads: 'This book will, I trust, act as a corrective to help to bring the Church back to a true recognition of the fact that revival must ever be related to righteousness and that the way of a revived Church is still the way of repentance and true holiness'. 1 May 1963, p. 12. Wallis (1923-1988) was a major figure in the House Church movement in Britain. He allegedly began to pray and fast for revival in the early 1950s, and, at that time, experienced the Spirit's power. See Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 878. According

chief culprits for the [charismatic] trouble, according to the Brethren'.[62] However, a participant in the Ashburton and Christchurch crusade meetings, Brian Pearson, felt that McAlpine and Wallis did not present as apologists for the renewal, they were '...just stressing to the assemblies in New Zealand that there needed to be a return to the fullness of the Spirit, and to guard against a lack of direction, commitment and power, but some people really took exception to their comments'.[63]

Irrespective of whether or not these visitors were intending to condone 'neo-pentecostalism' is of lesser significance than that *they appeared to be.* Wallis was invited to New Zealand because he was an advocate of a generic type of renewal, not because he spoke in tongues, and although both men were deeply respected they ministered at a tense moment in the development of the charismatic renewal in New Zealand. For example, by the time Wallis had arrived in April 1963:

> ...most of the leaders of the assemblies had decided it was necessary to take a stand. The first to do so were the elders of the Christchurch assemblies (where as yet there had been little Brethren involvement in things charismatic). In September 1963 they held their first ever combined meeting at which they reiterated phrases of [a] letter of twenty in a resolution which read:
>
> 'The standard interpretation accepted throughout the 130 years as assemblies is that "apostles" have passed away, that "prophets" have ceased with the completion and circulation of the full Word of God, and that miracles, gifts of healing and tongues were given as Divine signs at the introduction of this dispensation, but having served their purpose, have ceased.' [64]

In Christchurch however, the Brethren polity of an 'open pulpit' subsequently led to some pentecostal influence, for example at Rutland Street Chapel, when no less than the internationally respected Canadian preacher Ern Baxter spoke there in January 1974.[65] And as the momentum developed, other churches were able to benefit from the Brethren leaders; the Revival Fellowship, for example,

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to Lineham, Wallis's arrival in New Zealand in 1963 'signalled a new challenge to Brethren orthodoxy'. 'Tongues Must Cease', p. 25.

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[63] Brian Pearson, Telephone interview, 19 November 1999. This was also the tone of reviewer Duncan Campbell in the *Challenge* review, see above n. 61.

[64] The resolution was originally published in the Brethren paper, the *Treasury*, October 1963, but cited here in Lineham, 'Tongues Must Cease', p. 29.

hosted Wallis on a return visit in April 1974.[66] The Brethren in Christchurch were divided on the renewal; some were more accommodating, while others remained resistant.[67]

By the time 'Adullam's Cave' opened in late 1965, healing meetings in Christchurch were being promoted with more frequency and openness. Pentecostalism in the city had also received a boost earlier in the year with the visit of the Oral Roberts Associate Evangelists, Bob de Wesse and Tommy Tyson in February.[68] It was significant that Tyson, a native of North Carolina, had served for six years as a Methodist pastor, and he had been very active 'in the work of church renewal at [the] denominational, interdenominational, and ecumenical levels'.[69]

This would have been an encouragement to Methodist preacher and early renewal advocate, David Edmonds, then in the Durham Street parish. Following the visit of Harry Denman in August 1963, Edmonds claimed a ' "MIGHTY SPIRITUAL AWAKENING [sic]; ...my life and ministry was immediately and radically changed" '.[70] He then set up inter-denominational groups including a house group and healing and prayer group, and liaised with Ralph Read and Morrow.[71]

The November 1965 Methodist Conference was in Christchurch and this brought closer contact between early Methodist supporters of the renewal, including Edmonds and Owen Woodfield, then presbyter at St. John's Methodist Church in Byndwr. At a Keswick Convention in 1955 Woodfield had an experience later recognised as Spirit baptism, but from the Conference a decade later, the pace

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[65] *The Press,* 26 January 1974, p. 21.
[66] *Ibid.,* 13 April 1974, p. 19. It was claimed Wallis had 'surpassing insight into Biblical truths'.
[67] Although much later, Hornby and Riccarton Chapels combined to offer a 'special series of addresses' on the theme, 'The Relevance of the New Testament Church for Today', with guest speaker, J. A. Boyens of Hamilton. Among the topics were: 'The Church: Its Gifts and Their Use', and 'The Full Dimension of Our Gospel'. *The Press,* 1 November 1975, p. 22. In 1979, Scripture Union, Wairakei Road Chapel and St. Timothy's Anglican in Bryndwr co-sponsored a one-day seminar on the revealing topic, 'Personal Renewal Expressed in Lifestyle and Church Structure', *ibid.,* 26 May 1979, p. 25.
[68] *The Press,* 23 January 1965, p. 30. De Weese was campaign manager and Tyson a co-evangelist. The main meeting was on 3 February, with supporting meetings at the Horticultural Hall. This suggests a possible link with Morrow, but this is unconfirmed.
[69] Burgess et al., *Dictionary,* pp. 854-55.
[70] Bolitho, 'In This World', p. 153.
[71] *Ibid.*

quickened, assisted by Morrow, who was 'a catalyst for interdenominational co-operation'.[72] Through Woodfield's influence, Methodists from across the city, including those from as far away as Darfield and Waipara, and from other denominations, attended Woodfield's Monday evening meetings.[73]

Despite the developing networks, a marked feature of the Anglican hierarchy in Christchurch in relation to the renewal was a declared non-involvement. When, as the new Bishop in 1966,[74] Allan Pyatt surveyed the Christchurch scene he saw fit to comment on the phenomenon and impact of 'Pentecostalism' in his address to Synod. This is a revealing extract, worth citing at length as it captures the hope of some leaders that 'Pentecostalism' would simply evaporate, or at least have only a moderate impact:

> Periodically there arise, within the Church and outside it, movements which disturb our ordered ways of life. One such is the interest in Pentecostalism at present being shown and experienced by Anglicans in this country. Many will be suspicious of some of the more extreme manifestations of this movement. From what we can see at the moment, a few points emerge: it is a revival of some of the New Testament signs; where experienced, it produces evidences of new life in the Spirit; it gives encouragement to laymen and clergy alike to proclaim the Gospel; and it can lead in some cases to greatly invigorated Parishes. Its weaknesses are obvious. While emotions are an essential part of life and religion, we must beware lest a too great emphasis on emotionalism is presented to those least able to bear it. It is a mode of Christian experience which appeals, among others, to rather highly strung persons; and the fact that the present leaders of this movement in the Anglican Church are probably not the highly strung ones, should cause them to be careful of the way they share these gifts. It is true, too, in the history of Christianity, that anyone who has been influenced by one particular type of religious experience, is inclined to demand that all must share it. ...It is as well to remind ourselves that this can bring strength to individuals and Parishes where the normal Church life has not yet proved sufficient, but that its proponents should not demand in their preaching or in their ministry that it should be regarded as essential. For some folk it brings a new light to the eye, a new spring to the step, But, after all, there has been much love in the Christian Churches, much dedicated work by a great many lay people, lively and successful Parishes, throughout the history of the Church. These have been the result, undoubtedly, of the Holy Spirit of God working in the Church through the age-old ways, but without the particular manifestations now so often demanded.[75]

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[72] Woodfield interview, 9 September 1997.
[73] Bolitho, 'In This World', pp. 154-55. A number of these points were reiterated in the interview with the Woodfields (*ibid*).
[74] Warren had resigned in February, and Pyatt was consecrated on 24 August 1966. (*Year Book, 1966*, p. 19).
[75] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

In reality however, the renewal was gaining considerable support amongst Anglicans. These comments were therefore out of step with not only the Bishop's own constituency, but with the acute insights of his predecessor, and of what was actually happening in the city at the time.[76] On a number of points however, including some apparent knowledge of religious enthusiasm in history, subsequent developments over two decades would prove Pyatt right in that the institutionalism of charismatic ministry saw it assume its place within a wider appreciation of the Spirit's work in the church, and in the process, lose much of its counter-cultural appeal.

Another key development in 1966 was the advent of the *Logos* journal. This was produced in Christchurch by local Anglican David Balfour[77] and an inter-denominational committee including Woodfield, Edmonds, Bernard Honders, Ray Muller, and Secretary, Piers Hanna, an accountant and early supporter of the Revival Fellowship.[78] Among the stated aims were to bring:

> ...a positive message, not in any way schismatic or divisive. ...
>
> To witness to well-attested facts of spiritual reviving in New Zealand with up-to-the-minute testimonies from Christians in the historic Churches. [And] [t]o maintain a balance between personal testimony and Scriptural teaching. Our purpose in this teaching is not primarily doctrinal but Biblical and practical.[79]

The writers in *Logos* maintained these ideals and at no time during its New Zealand production did writers adopt an unduly critical stance because the intention was to reach and teach, not alienate those in the historic churches.[80] Another role was to introduce readers to the testimonies and writings of key

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[76] And a shortly later, even within Anglicanism. (See for example, comments on Group 70, 5.2.2, pp. 155-56).

[77] Balfour had been ordained a deacon in Christchurch in 1963 before serving as a curate in Ashburton (1963-66). When *Logos* was first published he was Priest-In-Charge of the Aranui-Wainoni Mission District, but in 1971was appointed vicar at Lyttelton. He was later very involved in CAM and published a newsletter 'Harper's Bazaar'.

[78] Muller was then chaplain at Massey University. Edmonds, who wrote the first editorial, had then been stationed to a rural parish in the far north (Kaeo-Kerikeri), and Honders was the minister at Redcliffs Presbyterian. The design, printing and publishing were all done in Christchurch. At the time of writing (early 2003), Hanna is still based in Christchurch and active in the Gideons as well as his own chartered accountancy practice.

[79] *Logos,* Vol. 1, No. 1, August 1966, inside front cover. According to a testimony in this issue Balfour began his charismatic search 'nearly two years ago', p. 6.

[80] Production shifted to Australia in 1969 when Paul Collins, an associate of Morrow's, became editor. It was later taken over by the ex-patriate New Zealand Baptist minister, Howard Carter, and renamed *Restore* to avoid confusion with a *Logos* journal in America. The New Zealand content was then lost.

overseas charismatics, including Michael Harper, Dennis Bennett and David du Plessis.[81] This in turn led to the visits of these and other speakers to New Zealand.[82]

Logos was significant in facilitating the national renewal and in consolidating developments in Christchurch, including the establishment and extension of charismatic networks. The moderate tone adopted by the editors—one that emphasised the long-lost 'birthright' of all believers to the things of the Spirit—did much to stimulate genuine interest.[83]

5.2. Frenetic Growth

5.2.1. Special Events

Two special events in the early 1970s assisted the charismatic renewal in Christchurch although neither was specifically charismatic or pentecostal in origin.

The Jesus Marches of September 1972 and the Commonwealth Games outreaches in January 1974 coincided with a period of interest and activity concerning the renewal, and were important in creating awareness and stimulating activity. The marches were national events reflecting the deep changes in New Zealand society, particularly over the past decade, and were part of a wider conservative moral response to the 'permissive society', while the Commonwealth Games was simply a one-off opportunity readily seized upon by evangelicals and others to share the gospel.

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[81] Du Plessis had his own column ('Du Plessis Speaking') in the early issues, although these articles were reprinted from 'A Voice of Faith'.

[82] See Chapter 7. Du Plessis's visit, however, in early 1966 predated the publication of *Logos*.

[83] This included the healing orders such as the Order of St. Luke (OSL) and Guild of St. Raphael (GSR). An extract from the OSL News, No. 1, 1966, appeared in the first issue of *Logos,* (p. 15). An off-shoot of the OSL, the Divine Healing Fellowship was conducting regular healing meetings in Christchurch as early as 1960. (Bolitho, 'In This World', p. 105). The GSR originated in the Anglican Communion and was dedicated to divine healing as part of the life and worship of the Church. In more recent times, Christchurch parishes to conduct GSR services have included St. Michael's All Angels (central city) and St. Barnabas's (Fendalton), although these services may not have developed from the renewal, and were possibly a type of counter-response.

In the early 1970s widespread concern emerged about a perceived decline in moral standards, particularly in education, literature and film and family issues.[84] A number of organisations emerged in response, each with its own area of concern, including, for example, the Society for the Protection of Community Standards, and the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child. Both were formed in 1970. Hoping for a wide constituency, neither was overtly 'Christian', but conservative Christians 'were often the main supporters of these organisations'.[85]

Against this background and inspired by overseas successes, the idea of the New Zealand Jesus Marches took shape. The activities of the 'Jesus People' of California in the mid-1960s were a starting point 'to celebrate Jesus', but the Festival of Light rallies in Trafalgar Square, London in September 1971, and then, in Sydney in October, were of more direct significance, while the 1972 musical *Hair* (featuring a nude scene), and visit of Australian feminist Germaine Greer, were other factors influencing the organisation of the marches. More specifically it was felt:

> There is increasing evidence that a determined assault is being made on family life, morality and decency in public entertainment, literature and some sections of the mass media. Law and order and authority is being challenged in recent publications aimed directly at young people. There is widespread reluctance in the community generally to affirm or accept any absolute moral standards. The increase in crime, violence, indecency, drunkenness, drug addiction, sexual permissiveness, illegitimacy, and venereal disease is alarming evidence of a moral landslide which could finally result in the decay and collapse of our society, or in the judgement of God on the nation of New Zealand.[86]

For charismatics, participation in the marches provided new opportunities for co-operation and unity. The Christchurch marches occurred during the weekend of 15 to 17 September 1972. The national organiser was Muri Thompson, the Auckland evangelist[87] who noted that the Friday evening march with an

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[84] Much useful material for this section has been drawn from John Evans's paper 'The New Christian Right in New Zealand', in Gilling, (Ed), *Be Ye Separate*, pp. 69-106.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[86] Evans, 'The New Christian Right', p. 75. This originally appeared in the Executive Committee's Statement of Purpose.

[87] Thompson had Brethren roots and had worked among Maori for many years, and in July and August 1970 was involved in a successful charismatic outreach in the Solomon Islands. As early as 1963 Thompson was calling for national repentance; 'We need [he said] to repent of our denial of the Holy Spirit in our midst. We needed [sic] to repent of our bitter spirit, our evil tongue, and many other things which God would say to us as

estimated ten thousand people taking part '...was equal to, or had exceeded, the one held in Auckland earlier this year'.[88] A newspaper reporter added:

> Sixty per cent of the marchers were young people, but among them were family groups, elderly men and women, and two persons in wheel chairs. Led by the Youth for Christ band, the marchers—10 abreast—carried an estimated 1000 placards and banners. These bore such slogans as "Jesus Loves You", "Our God isn't dead, He's not even sick", "Trust Jesus and live" and "Jesus the solution to soul pollution". ...
>
> Reactions from onlookers ranged from incredulity and embarrassment to approval and acceptance of the purpose of the march.
>
> ...marchers stated their belief that the greatest need for New Zealand was a return to God and for a spiritual awakening in the land, and a call to all Christians for a "spiritual revolution" in Christchurch and throughout the Dominion.
>
> "It is our firm belief that Jesus is God's answer to the great moral and social problems of society, and the great need of our country is a return to God through Him, and for a spiritual awakening throughout the land", ...[89]

The Sunday rally in Latimer Square drew a large crowd of five thousand and Thompson and Marcus Arden spoke.[90] Thompson claimed, '...maladjustment of every kind, and the problems that filled pyschiatrists' studios all over the country, could be traced to the alienation of men from God'.[91] The solving of complex social issues was then, reduced simply to 'Jesus' without any apparent grasp of how such a faith could transform culture. This basic understanding persisted well into the 1980s.

So far as the renewal was concerned however, the marches were important. The euphoria may have been short-lived but it provided a positive experience which drew evangelicals, conservatives and charismatics together on common ground. New convert Ray Comfort remembers the 'wonderful co-operation'.[92] The marches were an expression of unity which incorporated charismatics and eased

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we let Him search our hearts, as we let Him judge us'. 'The Church Accountable for the Sins of the Nation warns Maori Evangelist'. *Challenge*, 8 May 1963, pp. 1 and 12.

[88] *The Press*, 16 September 1972, p. 1.

[89] *Ibid.*

[90] Arden was a former leader of the New Left movement in New Zealand, manager of a 'love shop' and a converted Jew. He became an itinerant youth evangelist and spoke at churches throughout New Zealand.

[91] *The Press*, 18 September 1972, p. 11.

[92] Ray Comfort, e-mail communication, 7 January 2003. At the time Comfort owned a surf shop and was converted on a surfing trip in April 1972. He was briefly involved with the 'hippie' outreach at Sydenham AOG and became a street preacher 'over a period of twelve years almost daily preaching in the Square'. He became a prolific author of outreach books and tracts and moved to California in 1989.

hostility to 'the things of the Spirit'. For some, the marches were simply an expression of celebration in the new life they had found in Jesus.[93] They also provided a model for public demonstrations later in the decade.

The four months' preparation included public meetings at the New Life Centre, Oxford Terrace Baptist and St. John's Latimer Square, and called 'all Christians to prayer' at a 'Jesus for Christchurch' gathering at Hagley High School grounds. These inter-denominational activities gained support from across the churches but appealed particularly to young people and those of a pentecostal or charismatic persuasion. They were a natural outlet of proclamation and witness for the joy of new life found in 'the Spirit'.

The other major event was the Commonwealth Games held in Christchurch from 24 January to 2 February 1974. This unique occasion was attended by Queen Elizabeth II and prompted the construction of a new sports complex, events centre and swimming pool named in the monarch's honour. The city was *en fête* and the advent of colour television (in late 1973) added to the spectacle. The specially written theme song 'Join Together' also seemed appropriate for the sense of unity and optimism that pervaded pentecostal and charismatic groups at that time.[94]

The influx of visitors prompted the formation of an overseeing body, the Games Christian Outreach Committee to co-ordinate Christian witness.[95] This involved considerable effort across a number of churches and para-church groups, including the Navigators, Opawa Baptist Church, the Anglican Cathedral, YWAM, Open Air Campaigners (OAC), and Rhema Press. Like the Jesus Marches, the Games proved a further drawcard for visiting speakers.[96] A disappointment however, was the refusal of the then Labour Minister of Broadcasting, Roger Douglas, to grant Radio Rhema a temporary licence.

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[93] This was expressed by Dennis Barton, a pastor at Sydenham AOG, who had a successful ministry to young people from the 'hippie' culture. Barton interview, 6 October 1997, see also 6.3.1 and 6.3.2, pp. 214-23.

[94] 'Join Together' was also the theme for the final gathering of the Games Christian Outreach at Latimer Square in early February. *The Press,* 2 February 1974, p. 21.

[95] The headquarters was in Hereford Street. The scope of activities required a high degree of co-ordination and organisation. According to a newspaper report, the Committee was 'an ad hoc body formed some months ago'. *The Press,* 31 January 1974, p. 18.

[96] Notably Ern Baxter, see 7.2.3, pp. 252-54.

Opawa Baptist Church provided a venue for study and lectures between outreaches on the streets, at beaches and at Games venues. In addition to those from Christchurch, participants, mainly 'young people', also came from Sydney, Hawaii, England and the Netherlands, and a bus loaned by Comfort, suitably adorned with Scripture verses, was used for transport.[97]

For the duration of the event, four coffee bars—the 'Carpenters Shop', 'Open Door', 'Crossroads' and 'Dunamis'—were set-up in inner-city venues, and twice daily music outreaches were held at the Cambridge Terrace band rotunda, as well as 'Gather to Jesus' rallies every evening in Latimer Square. Personal ministry was also available; 'lost, lonely, depressed or searching, we have the answer. We will help you off drugs'. [98]

The Games outreaches provided an outlet for the informality, spontaneity and enthusiasm of the charismatic renewal. They also provided a stimulus for working with other groups which helped the concept of renewal become less threatening, more engaging and more mainstream.

5.2.2. Para-Church Groups

Of arguably greater importance than special events were the less obvious, structural activities of para-church organisations and groups which existed to service and promote charismatic renewal. Prominent was Group 70, an inter-denominational (although initially Anglican) prayer body that, according to an early participant, Barbara Butler, 'formed about 1969 and became official about

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[97] One was John 14 verse 6, which reads, in part: "I am the way and the truth and the life". Comfort adds: 'YWAM used my 34-seater bus (with Scripture all over it) to carry their teams around. Muri [Thompson] then used it to take a team around the North Island', e-mail communication, 7 January 2003. See also '1000 Christians are reaching out', *The Press,* 31 January 1974, p. 18.

[98] *The Press—Games Supplement,* 24 January 1974, p. 12.

1971-72'.[99] The group took its name from the first meetings in 1970 and Luke's account of Jesus's appointing of seventy-two others and sending them out.[100]

Group 70 met in the crypt of the Anglican Cathedral but later moved when the numbers attending increased. Meetings were initially monthly, but later bi-monthly. Among the early participants were Anglican clergy including David Harper, Martin Warren, Lloyd Williams and the Dean, Michael Underhill; and later, Peter Morrow, Ces Dennehy, Bruce Beckett, and according to Butler, 'many Presbyterians'.[101] Group 70 meetings were open to range of charismatic experiences, including:

> ...worship and teaching, and the gifts, along with prayer ministry. On one occasion, a person had a message in a different language which somebody else recognised and interpreted very clearly as Greek. There was also intersession, healing and deliverance. We'd have tea meetings beforehand, and for me it was a long way to come, but very worthwhile for charismatic teaching and fellowship. As a lay person amongst so many clergy I didn't talk much, but I felt this really is fellowship as depicted in the New Testament. Jackie Pullinger was a tremendous influence on the group because we came to learn the vital necessity of praying in tongues.[102]

Group 70 was unique in an organisational, as well as a spiritual sense. It drew participants from throughout the city and across the churches. Its activities were bringing an increasing number of people into contact with each other, both lay and ordained, as well as pentecostals. The 'fellowship' had a common focus and maintained a confidence and expectation in charismatic belief and practice.

Another critical group was CAM. This had its origins in Palmerston North and renewal developments in that city from 1964. The director, Ray Muller, was among the first leaders of the renewal in New Zealand and was instrumental in

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[99] Butler interview, 2 September 1997. Originally from England but then living at Fairlie (in South Canterbury), Butler had been travelling to Christchurch for some years to participate in charismatic activities. She 'heard about baptism in the Spirit in the late 1950s' and had read books by Agnes Sandford on healing. She had an encounter with Spirit baptism at 'Adullam's Cave' when prayed for by Don Cowey (see 4.2.2, pp. 109-11).

[100] See Luke 10 verses 1-2. Differences in early manuscripts make it unclear as to whether the number was 72 or 70. Of more significance however, might be that later in the passage the workers are told to 'heal the sick' (verse 9).

[101] *Ibid.*

[102] Butler interview, 2 September 1997. Pullinger, an evangelist, had moved from England to Hong Kong as a missionary 1966 and became well known for her work amongst the Triad gangs in the Walled City of Kowloon. It is alleged she had prayed over drug addicts in tongues and seen them healed.

organising the 1964 conference. CAM developed from the tape library service offered to *Logos* readers.[103] More specifically, the new organisation:

> ...grew out of the personal 'pentecostal' experience of a number of Anglican priests and laymen who were later joined by ministers and laymen from other denominations, including Roman Catholics, to provide sound biblical teaching against the backgrounds of their own liturgical traditions.
>
> CAM is a para-parochial organism that desires to encourage all Christians into the full appropriation of the power of the Holy Spirit bestowed upon the First Day of Pentecost and in their baptism, to enable them to enrich their worship, revitalise their witness and deepen their fellowship in love.[104]

From the outset the focus was on clergy and lay leaders, rather than the wider laity, or families, the logic perhaps being that a supportive constituency from this sector would, in time, facilitate change across the denominations.[105]

The first speakers to Christchurch under the auspices of CAM were Robert Frost and Kevin Ranaghan in January 1973.[106] Both were authors, and Ranaghan's *Catholic Pentecostals* was widely considered a foundational and authoritative introduction to the renewal.[107] Frost shared his testimony and spoke on sensitivity to God's plans and timing, and the inheritance of faith, while Ranaghan highlighted unity in the Spirit, building the Body of Christ, and the witness of love.[108] Sustained teaching from credentialled leaders of this calibre

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[103] An early *Logos* advertisement reads: 'For the promotion of Charismatic Renewal in the Historic Churches. A Denominationally focused Library with tapes of people in the Historic Churches who are making a valuable contribution under the Holy Spirit to the life of the Church'.(Vol. 1, No. 4, May 1967, p. 14).

[104] This is from a brochure advertising events for 1976 (n.d., circa late 1975). CAM was legally constituted as a Charitable Trust in 1973. The writer is indebted to Archdeacon Dale Williamson of Wellington for allowing the CAM material in her possession to be consulted.

[105] This caused some problems though. Local Anglican Chris Wyatt wrote to Secretary Cecil Marshall in November 1974 noting that little provision was made for families (in reference to the forthcoming Summer School). Marshall replied that clergy and lay leaders remained the focus and that 'Summer Schools are not really family conventions like Keswick'. Reply to Wyatt, 25 November 1974, CAM records.

[106] The actual dates were 12, 13 and 14 January and the meetings were held in the Town Hall. *The Press*, 6 January 1973, p. 17. This was a 'teaching seminar' as the main meeting at that time was held in Palmerston North, where Michael Harper also spoke.

[107] A local Catholic lay teacher, Betty O' Dowd, recalls she was prompted by actor Patrick Smythe to read Ranaghan's book. 'I took it home and read it with growing amazement and recognition of its authenticity and compatibility with Catholic teaching. I was then convinced that this is what Catholics needed and told Ces [Dennehy]'. O' Dowd interview, 6 September 1997 (see also 7.2.3, pp. 251-52 for a later account of this). Ranaghan and wife Dorothy were key figures in the Catholic Charismatic Renewal and co-ordinated the 'People of Praise Community' in South Bend, Indiana. Frost was a Baptist, a scientist and Bible teacher.

[108] These details were gleaned from the file B1/1, 'Summer Schools, 1974-76, CAM records.

and the many that followed,[109] did much to graft a renewal frame of reference on to what was considered 'ordinary' church life. This goal, as suggested in the statement of purpose, was a mixture of apologetics and experience; of bridging the 'old' with the 'new', but (as with *Logos*) always through the medium of reasoned and informed *teaching*.

Another aspect of CAM activities was the use of Christchurch clergy as teachers. Experienced ministers such as Murray Roberston, David Balfour and (later) Owen Woodfield[110] were valued for their knowledge of the local context. The difficulty in getting suitable overseas speakers led to a greater appreciation of local ministry resources, and, as Cecil Marshall was aware, the fellowship aspect was also important:

> ...while the ministry of overseas speakers is always a drawcard, part of the value of Summer Schools is the inspiration and fellowship that is expressed in times of worship at the morning communion services, and evening meetings; the lifting of our faith through seeing what God is doing all around the country, and the denominational meetings which give many people a sense of identity and hope.[111]

Between Ranaghan and Frost's visit and the first Lincoln Summer School in January 1975,[112] CAM consolidated its organisational and support base.[113] A notable event in this interim period was the visit of the Church of Scotland minister, Thomas (Tom) Smail. During a brief stay in Christchurch, Smail, also General Secretary of the Fountain Trust, spoke apologetically to the media regarding the renewal:

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[109] Other CAM speakers from 1975 to 1980 included: Tom Smail, Graham Pulkingham, Ralph Martin, Brian Smith, Colin Urquhart, Michael Harper, Leonard Evans, Robert Frost (return visit, January 1977), Robert Whitaker, Everett ('Terry') Fullam, Dick Wallace, and David Watson (May 1973 and September 1980). This combined with the constant stream of others invited by the New Life Centre ensured exposure to a wide cross-section of charismatic and pentecostal teachers.

[110] After eight years at St. John's, Bryndwr, the Woodfield's were stationed to Orakei (Auckland), in 1973, but later returned to Opawa Methodist. Other participating clergy were: Allen Neil, David Harper, Ces Dennehy, Ray Scott, David Boyd, Eddie Condra, Bruce Beckett, Michael Underhill, and Rex Meehan (*inter alia*).

[111] Open letter n.d., circa late 1975. CAM records.

[112] The Revival Fellowship/New Life Centre also held end-of-year conventions at Lincoln College in this period. The 1974 convention was from 26 December 1974 to 2 January 1975, and a women's convention slightly earlier from 15 to 17 December 1974.

[113] The tape service, for example, now included addresses by local and national clergy; an administrator (Ray Taylor) was appointed to assist the General Secretary; the Catholic-inspired 'Life in the Spirit' seminars were promoted, and the use of Lincoln College was negotiated as a residential base for the South Island Summer Schools.

> ...where the movement had gained acceptance [it was reported], it had accompanied an increase in membership, and people had begun to give more.
>
> Churches' financial problems had begun to clear as people discovered, through the movement, a new relationship with God. ...
>
> [T]here had been a change from "a rather stagnant religious society pleading with people to keep it going, and keep the roof on, to a dynamic body of people who found that they had a real job to do, and were making an impact of a kind that could not be accounted for by natural ability", ...
>
> Mr Smail said that although the charismatic movement was not in line with traditional belief, it was based on the scripture. ...
>
> If it was also integrated into the life and discipline of the Church, it could be very healthy, he said. "It will connect the Church with God's power house".[114]

This was exactly the reality facing Christchurch leaders of the renewal and Smail's comments illustrate the importance of teaching balanced with experience and testimony to integrate successfully renewal into churches. This was the task CAM's leaders were committed to.

The 1975 Summer School ran from 6 to 10 January and the main speaker was Episcopalian leader, Graham Pulkingham.[115] In a separate meeting in the Town Hall on 17 January, Ralph Martin, the noted Catholic charismatic also visited.[116] Beginning with this School a deliberate effort was made to respect denominational boundaries with separate eucharists and denominational meetings incorporated into the schedule, along with common sessions of praise and thanksgiving, and workshops on a range of relevant topics. This separation allayed concerns that liturgical and sacramental distinctives would be lost in a contrived 'unity of the Spirit'. There was however, at least one instance at Lincoln where a Catholic Mass was being held in a room partitioned-off from the adjacent Protestant Communion. As Humphrey O' Leary recalls: 'One brave soul

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[114] *The Press,* 27 April 1974, p. 19.

[115] See 7.2.3, pp. 256-57 for more on the Pulkinghams.

[116] Martin was a regular contributor to *New Covenant* magazine, and along with the Ranaghans, Francis McNutt and John Bertolucci, was heavily involved in the Catholic renewal (see also 2.2.3, p. 41, n. 54). His articles also appeared in the CAM magazine, *Advance.* See for example, 'God's Strategy for the Church', June 1980, pp. 3-4.

got up and pulled back the doors and we ended-up having a service together as a genuinely ecumenical group'. [117]

When ministering with the Community of Celebration on Cumbrae Island Pulkingham had formed a music team known as the Fisherfolk who accompanied him on overseas tours. A total of 350 attended the Lincoln school in 1975, with most churches represented. The denominational breakdown was: Anglican 147, Catholic 100, Presbyterian 33, Methodist 16, Baptist 12, and others, 42.[118] The higher proportion of Anglicans and Catholics is understandable given CAM's roots. It is important to note however, that attendance at the residential schools was restricted to clergy and lay leaders, so these figures exclude the public meetings where numbers swelled considerably.[119]

As the CAM schools evolved, greater emphasis was placed on teaching workshops and on the very practical issues of integrating renewal fully into the life of churches. This was a demanding and on-going task with no set prescription—CAM seminars reflected an understanding of local context (that is, each parish's needs were different) and the need to move sensitively. The renewal was presented as complementing and enriching denominational structures, while at the same time encouraging Spirit-led spontaneity. As a source of teaching, strategy and mutual support these sessions were invaluable.

CAM's music ministry was enhanced by the Unity Singers, a local version of Pulkingham's Fisherfolk. John McNeil was an early member. His account illustrates the ease with which charismatic focus groups worked together and were received by host churches if perceived to be constructive in teaching some 'new' aspect of renewal:

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[117] Circa early 1980s. O' Leary interview, 12 July 2000. This was in contrast to 1975 when, in a letter from Marshall to Michael Harper, the writer commented: 'We nearly got the R. C's [sic] to agree to a parallel celebration in the same hall but they pulled back at the last minute'. Marshall correspondence, 22 January 1976, CAM records.

[118] *Ibid.*, 'Cecil Marshall Records—Conferences'.

[119] The total combined attendance for the Lincoln School in the years 1975-77 was 1,048, with average (rounded) percentage figures per denomination being: Anglican 44, Catholic, 24, Presbyterian, 14, Methodist, 5, Baptist, 3, Others, 10. Compiled from CAM records.

> The Unity Singers was formed around 1973[120] with the aim of providing music for the charismatic masses held in the Catholic Cathedral. Co-leaders were Chris Wyatt and Marie Cummings. Marie and her husband had led the Maranatha Community in Bealey Avenue. Another leader was Peter Brown who later founded the Providential Community at Oxford. Peb Simmonds was another early member prominent in the Catholic charismatic movement. The members were primarily but not exclusively, Anglicans and Catholics, but several from pentecostal churches were also involved. In its early days there were as many as twenty plus members in the group. Within a short space of time, the group was also helping to lead worship in other churches.
>
> With growing recognition, principally because of the Unity Singers' involvement in Group 70 meetings around Christchurch, the group (under the temporary leadership of Allen Neil) was asked/permitted to lead the worship at the 1977 CAM Summer School at Lincoln. This was the beginning of a long association with CAM, and one year the Unity Singers led the worship at the Massey Summer School also. There were also numerous trips to Greymouth to take part in CAM Autumn Schools, and these were always considered highlights by the group. ...As the group's ministry grew, we added drama to our repertoire, using skits written within the group, and we developed a half-hour drama and music package teaching aspects of worship which we took to churches. We were also called upon by quite a number of churches to teach their music groups on worship.[121]

In relation to CAM, Wyatt had requested the group have greater involvement in the Summer Schools as early as 1974, and in the lead-up to the 1975 School he wrote to Marshall of his 'great disappointment' that [the Unity Singers] would not be involved directly, as members wanted to minister and learn from the Fisherfolk'.[122] Having discussed the matter with Muller, Marshall replied, 'we are not at all sure what could be done about the Unity Singers...'[123] However, the growing reputation of the group and its effectiveness as a vehicle for renewal had, as McNeil points out, brought a change in this situation by 1977.

Other para-church groups in Christchurch flourished in the period 1971-1975. The Women's Aglow Fellowship, for example, 'promoting the full gospel of Jesus Christ to all women'[124], gave members—often ministers' wives[125]—a prominent

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[120] This must have been well before December as the Unity Singers led the music at what was advertised as 'an inter-denominational open prayer meeting with worship and teaching' at St. Matthew's Anglican Church in Cranford Street. This event was organised by Group 70, and Anglican and Bread of Life Catholic prayer groups. *The Press,* 1 December 1973, p. 20.

[121] Written correspondence, 18 April 2002.

[122] Letter from Wyatt to Marshall, 4 November 1974, CAM records.

[123] Letter from Marshall to Wyatt, 25 November 1974, CAM records.

[124] *The Press,* 22 February 1975, p. 28, see also 18 February 1978.

[125] Including pentecostal pastors' wives, for example, Nancy Ravenhill and Lalita Ranchord. *The Press,* 19 April 1975, p. 20, and 20 September 1975, p. 21.

role in the renewal as well as a niche forum. It also provided a context for regular charismatic-pentecostal interaction (including prayer), as well as another outlet for the ministries of visiting speakers. The Revival Fellowship was also providing inter-denominational leadership in women's ministry at this time.[126]

The FGBMFI had established its first chapters in New Zealand in 1969 and like Women's Aglow, it bridged charismatic and pentecostal differences by focusing on unity in the 'full gospel'. Aside from the Chapter meetings, FGBMFI's main organ was the magazine *Voice*, which was being promoted in Christchurch by 1974 when 200,000 copies were distributed at 10,000 per month.[127] *Voice* was a booklet of men's testimonies which often included accounts of dramatic conversions, Spirit baptism and the use of sign gifts. As such, it and FGBMFI generally, were yet further resources constituting a range of para-church ministries supporting the Christchurch renewal.

5.2.3. Ecumenicity, Union and Inter-Church Co-operation

The type of informal inter-denominational co-operation that became a principal motif of the charismatic renewal in Christchurch was underscored by a long history in the diversity of denominations that emerged alongside the Church of England when organised European settlement began in 1850.

Religious diversity and the ecumenical nature of early Christchurch were important factors in subsequent religious development and it is important to consider links between this and understanding the key personalities and activities of the renewal, particularly the high level of inter-church co-operation and networking that occurred in the mid-1970s. Such links however, are very tentative in the absence of detailed research.[128]

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[126] A number of meetings, such as the Women's Seminars held for 2 hours per week over a month in October-November 1975, were advertised as 'open to all women everywhere'. *The Press,* 11 October 1975.

[127] Warren Smith, telephone interview, 12 March 2001. Smith has been a retailer of Christian books in Christchurch since this period and is also involved in Derek Prince Ministries.

[128] The inter-denominational character of Christchurch's religious history is an important area for future studies. As outlined in this section, the present study suggests a link between the rapid growth of the charismatic renewal and the historical and religious context of Christchurch, but this important topic requires separate investigation.

Protestant churches in England between 1790 and 1840—the religious milieu affecting the later migrants—experienced strong growth and most had in common a reinvigorated emphasis on the conversion experience and the related doctrines of early evangelicalism. Yet the theologically homogeneous world of English evangelical Protestantism was socially divided, leading to the appearance of new dissenting and Non-conformist sects in that period.[129]

The different types of Methodism, for example, inherited with the early Canterbury settlers[130] reflected Non-conformist sympathies against the Church of England. Other denominations, notably the Presbyterians, were also conspicuous from the start. This resulted in competition with the Anglicans and others, each seeking to establish a strong presence. In the event, Anglicanism in Canterbury was hampered by the late arrival of the first Bishop, Henry John Chitty Harper, and the fact that the Methodists used itinerant and lay preachers to good effect while the diocese lacked an ecclesiological leader.[131]

It appears however, that the Anglicans, perhaps as a result of the practical problems experienced in getting established in Canterbury, were early supporters of ecumenicity. A motion passed on the initiative of Christchurch members of the General Synod on 16 May 1865 reads, in part: 'That the Synod recognises the restoration of the Unity of the Christian Church as one principal object to which its efforts should be directed'.[132] This was a view endorsed and promoted by Harper, when in the President's address to the 1871 Synod, he said:

> ...I feel that it is my duty to remind you of the resolution respecting the restoration of the unity of the Christian Church. ...Our disunion, in some instances may have been overruled for good, but it is plainly an unchristian [sic] state of things. ...[I]f the members of the various

[129] A very thorough analysis of these conditions is provided in Alan Gilbert's *Religion and Society in Industrial England—Church, Chapel and Social Change 1740-1914* (London: Longman Group, 1976), particularly Chapters 1-3, pp. 3-68. He distinguishes (see pp. 47-48) between the 'New Dissent' of the Congregationalists, Particular Baptists, and New Connexion General Baptists, from the 'Old Dissent' of the Quakers, most General Baptists, Presbyterians and the Unitarian movement.

[130] The Wesleyans, Primitive Methodists, Free Methodists and Bible Christians, which by 1913, had joined to form the Methodist Church of New Zealand. For an account of early Methodism in Christchurch, see James Guy, *Fifty Years of Primitive Methodism in New Zealand* (Wellington: Primitive Methodist Book Depot, 1893), Chapter IV, Canterbury, Section 1, 'Christchurch Station', pp. 189-209.

[131] Harper arrived in the mid-1850s. The contrast is also apparent in the fact that Durham Street Methodist Church opened in 1864, whereas the Anglican Cathedral was opened and dedicated 17 years later, in 1881.

[132] Recalled by Alan Pyatt reflecting on the union issue, *Year Book, 1973*, p. 14.

> religious bodies maintain friendly intercourse with each other, honestly appreciating the services of each other in the cause of religion, and if with larger sympathies with those who differ from them they tolerate opinions and practices which are not opposed to the fundamental principles of Christianity and to purity of morals, allowing, that is, to others in such matters the same liberty as they claim for themselves. But I must add, that in my opinion, we must go further than this, if there is to be in this Colony any effectual and enduring restoration of Christian unity. ..."[133]

Whether this was a polite acknowledgement of the religious differences that were a fact of life in early Christchurch, or a genuine hope of better things, is not known. Whatever the case, Anglicans in Canterbury were not in a position to dominate as, by way of contrast, the Presbyterians were in Otago.[134] Early ecumenism was a concomitant of the particular circumstances of organisational growth that emerged in Canterbury.

But other factors were significant as well. There was a small degree of rapprochement between Protestants and Roman Catholics in England prior to the arrival of the 'first four ships'. Although high Anglicans like Edward Pusey were censured for using Catholic devotional literature, he continued to push for closer working relationships.[135] In Christchurch too, Catholic-Protestant relations since the formation of the Catholic diocese in May 1887, were relatively cordial. The first Bishop, John Grimes, was of English extraction and ecumenical in disposition. 'Grimes [a biographer noted] worked hard to build unity in his diocese, which was divided not only by the Southern Alps, but also by class, national loyalties and political opinion'.[136] This despite opposition within the Church towards his appointment—some were suspicious an English Marist would serve the diocese more effectively than a native Irishman.[137] That positive

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[133] *Ibid.*

[134] According to Peter Matheson, the dominance was sufficient for Anglicans in Otago to be referred to as the 'Little Enemy' by Presbyterians. See '1840-1870: The Settler Church' in McEldowney (Ed), *Presbyterians in Aotearoa*, p. 28. There were fears in 1852 that 'the indolence of Scotchmen' may lead to Otago losing its characteristic flavour as Episcopalians and Roman Catholics arrived. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[135] Sir Paul Harvey (Ed), *The Oxford Companion to English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 673. Later in life Pusey 'attempted to bring about the union of the English and Roman churches, and of the English Church with the Wesleyans and eastern Church'. *Ibid.*

[136] *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,* Volume II, 1870-1900 (Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1993), pp. 179-180. According to this account, Grimes (1842-1915) was appointed Bishop of Christchurch when the Diocese was formed on 10 May 1887. He arrived in Christchurch on 2 February 1888, and despite poor health won genuine affection and 'worked hard to build unity'.

[137] Grimes's disposition may be compared with that of the later James Liston, the Bishop of Auckland. Although born in Dunedin, Liston was raised in 'a close-knit Irish Catholic Community set belligerently apart from the Scottish Protestant majority'. He was Bishop from December 1929 and Archbishop from 1954 to 1970. Liston

relations across the traditional divide were so conspicuous in the later charismatic renewal owes at least some debt to the leadership and direction of the Catholic diocese from its earliest days.[138]

A more defined and formal ecumenism emerged amongst church leaders in the early 1940s. The idea had been developing since the slump of the previous decade—the Great Depression affected Christchurch more than any other major New Zealand city; the rate of male unemployment was 14.5 percent, compared with 11.8 percent in Auckland and under 10 percent in Wellington and Dunedin.[139] Reflecting this reality, inter-church bodies were involved in the co-ordination of relief. After the depression, prominent clergy in Christchurch were keen to formalise unity. The result, in July 1941, was the formation of the NCC. Colin Brown describes the mood in Christchurch at that time:

> [Also] important in the foundation of the NCC and helping to ensure that it was founded when and where it was, was the fact that in the years immediately prior to 1941, there were, in Christchurch, several figures who shared a common interest in ecumenical endeavour generally, overseas experience and contacts, and positions of influence in their respective denominations. The most important of these were Archbishop Campbell West-Watson (Anglican), the Rev. A. C. [Alan] Watson (Presbyterian), the Rev. L. A. North (Baptist), the Rev. M. A. Rugby Pratt and the Rev W. A. Burley, (both Methodists). ...[140]

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> West-Watson [was] concerned, in a general way, about the need for the unity of Christian action and the organic union of the churches in relation to the impact of church on society.[141]

This is significant because although the structure of the NCC was an anathema to charismatics twenty-five years later,[142] there was a parallel in that unity and

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was also described as 'allow[ing] no compromise' and 'inflexible once he had reached a decision'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,* Vol. IV, 1921-1940, pp. 288-89.

[138] Some early Presbyterians were also committed to 'working together' and in favour of formal union. Rev. R. Erwin, for example, the minister of Knox Church from 1883-1923 twice pressed for union; in 1904 and again in 1918. This issue, one writer notes, 'was dear to his heart'. Edna Gray, 'A History of Presbyterianism and the Presbyterian Church in Canterbury'. Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Canterbury University College, 1924, p. 67.

[139] Trevor Burnard, 'An Artisanal Town—The Economic Sinews of Christchurch', in Cookson and Dunstall, (Eds), *Southern Capital,* p. 132.

[140] Brown, *Forty Years On*, pages 13 and 14

[141] *Ibid.*, p. 14.

[142] The reason being that organisation and 'ecumenism through committees' was considered the antithesis of freedom 'in the Spirit'. Ian Breward adds that charismatic understandings of 'unity' harbour 'suspicion of institutions', and, 'spiritual unity has an isolationist streak. Nor does it do justice [he continues] to the biblical

collective strength were considered essential to increased effectiveness in witness and outreach. But the means for facilitating this were very different; NCC leaders envisaged structural inter-denominationalism whereas charismatics believed in a much more informal but no less real 'Spirit-led unity'. The former was planned and managed; the latter dependent upon and subsequent to an experience of personal renewal. The NCC formalised a *de facto* ecumenicity in Christchurch but also extended it along new paths. The high level of inter-church co-operation related to the Billy Graham crusade in the lead-up to April 1959 was an example of this.

A possible connection between support in Christchurch for church union in the 1970s and the influence of the renewal on this matter, in the absence of hard data on voting patterns and charismatic affiliation, remains a matter of conjecture. Speaking of clergy in the Anglican diocese Colin Brown adds:

> In Christchurch, at least, of clergy known to be affected by the Charismatic Renewal, some were opposed to the Plan for Union while others were amongst its supporters. On the other hand, there is little or no overlap of personnel between leaders in the renewal and top-level negotiators for church union.[143]

However, the renewal *was* an established and acknowledged phenomenon affecting the denominational churches in the mid-1970s, and charismatics loyal to their own churches, might have viewed the issue more positively by then and exerted some influence as laity on the overall vote in support of union in Christchurch.[144]

The juxtaposition of these two important issues was frequently raised. In August 1972, shortly before the Jesus Marches a month later, some local clergy were openly expressing the view that the church had to embrace the charismatic renewal in order to survive, while others perceived that 'renewal' was occurring anyway. In a lengthy newspaper report echoing Brown's later assessment that the ecclesiastical position became 'thoroughly untidy', it was noted that:

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relationship of Word and Sacrament, or the visible church as the place God has chosen to test the quality of our love for one another'. Ian Breward, *Which Way to Reunion?* (no publication details, 1981), p. 3.

[143] 'The Ecumenical Contribution', in Colless and Donovan (Eds) *Religion in New Zealand Society*, p. 90.

> The Congregationalist leader in Christchurch (the Rev. P. Kennett) says that about half of the Congregationalists will vote to enter union; the Anglicans decline to give an estimate but point out that synods were overwhelmingly in favour of union.
>
> But church union raises another matter. The Jesus revolution in the West, and the burgeoning growth rates of charismatic churches seem to shed a little light on where the heart of the matter lies.
>
> "Church union was all the rage 10 years ago", said Mr [Rev. I. B.] Wilson. "We have delayed too long. I think God is going to unite through other means. There are a number of programmes on controversial subjects that are uniting Christians at that level," he said. "We Anglicans are so entrenched that I don't think we could renew ourselves without it if we tried. We wouldn't know which rope to pull first. Even if we asked for reformation, we'd cling to this and cling to that, and end up having no reformation at all. I think there are two revivals going on, and they both have the same author. The charismatic movement is one and it is happening largely outside the church, and church renewal is the other. It is happening inside the church."
>
> Archdeacon [Reginald] Williams feels that the plan for union is a result of church renewal. "The people who brought us the plan have looked at the New Testament pattern and sought to extract those things which are imperative for today's scene. But we can't afford to ignore the charismatic movement."[145]

Notwithstanding any actual links between church union and the renewal, charismatic influence, as acknowledged in this report, continued to expand in Christchurch and a 'union' of sorts occurred, characterised by increasing co-operation between individuals and churches, and continual input from meetings and seminars. As Williams acknowledged, union had helped catapult renewal to the attention of the high clergy, and any subsequent deliberations could not ignore its influence.[146]

Further to this, as McNeil explains: 'The pace of the renewal in the early seventies was frenetic; every day there were things happening, important speakers visiting and meetings to attend, ...Christchurch came very close to

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[144] Brown analyses the voting patterns more closely, including comparisons with other dioceses, *ibid.*, pp. 86-89. Any possible link, is however, difficult to establish—the union issue itself is complex, and becomes more so when consideration of the renewal is added.

[145] 'Church union issue almost ready for the vote', *The Press,* 5 August 1972, p. 19.

[146] The union debate continued into the 1980s. A balanced analysis of the main issues, including the impact of renewal (but with particular reference to the Presbyterian Church), is Breward's booklet (*op. cit.*).

achieving the unity in the Spirit that so many had prayed so faithfully for so long'.[147]

It was significant that in 1973 the leaders of the Christchurch Revival Fellowship, true to Morrow's vision of the Spirit-led Church without denominational boundaries, were confident their work was maturing beyond independent pentecostalism towards a wider unity. This was a reality Morrow and Ranchord had been witnessing within the renewal, and laity, such as McNeil, were also sensing. The pervasive confidence in the city is evident in the manner Ern Baxter's visit to the Revival Fellowship in April 1973 was promoted. 'This outstanding Bible Teacher [it was noted] brings to the present Charismatic Renewal, a ministry dedicated to the "Unity of the Spirit" [sic] and the development of God-honouring maturity in the Christian community'.[148]

Baxter's experience and standing were beyond dispute, but it is more difficult to discern the full extent of the diverse activities occurring within the renewal at this time. Clearly there were deeper dimensions of unity to be known, and the key was held to be prayer, praise and worship. By May 1974 there were fourteen charismatic prayer meetings in Christchurch among Roman Catholic groups alone;[149] these being in addition to Group 70 and the work of the Unity Singers, the Summer Schools, FGBMFI, Women's Aglow, and the opportunities which special events such as the Commonwealth Games had provided for charismatic teaching and outreach. A key part of this maturity was a growing self-identity—the renewal was not just an off-shoot of pentecostalism, nor, as the union debate illustrated, was it a minor or inconsequential 'blip' intruding into the otherwise ordered world of the denominational churches—it was an important component of the emerging pattern of religious belief and practice.

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[147] McNeil, telephone interview, 23 April 2002.

[148] *The Press*, 28 April 1973, p. 19. This large display advertisement also promoted meetings with evangelist Clark Taylor and Loren Cunningham, the founder and director of YWAM.

5.3. Maturity

5.3.1. Integration

By the late 1960s after many early leaders of the renewal had experienced the personal 'blessing' of Spirit baptism and tongues, it was clear that their task, particularly if they were clergy, was to work within the churches. Whereas pastors in pentecostal churches could minister 'in the gifts' freely in a manner both accepted and expected by their constituencies, this was not the case for charismatic ministers. Theirs was territory that had to be 'won'. Reclaiming the 'birthright' of the first believers at Pentecost and seeing the subsequent joy and release 'in the Spirit' in their churches was a daunting task. To abandon the denominations and join the pentecostals would be to leave the 'vineyard' where they had been called to serve, as well as possibly grieve the Spirit, because it was *within the churches* that charismatics believed the refreshing of the Spirit was most needed.

Premillennial interpretations of rapid social and religious change, including concerns about youth, the Cold War, declining church attendance, and indecision over the union issue, all brought an urgency to the need for charismatic renewal in the minds of clergy affected by 'Spirit baptism'. But despite sensing they were on the threshold of a spiritual breakthrough, most urged caution and sensitivity. The tension between impatience and loving others slowly to change was, in itself, healthy in stimulating the challenge of renewal amongst charismatically-inclined clergy. Integrating the *charismata* into churches had to reflect the love and fruit of the Spirit. This was certainly the tone evident in *Logos*. In a article which appeared in late 1967, 'Handling Fire—without burning one's fingers', a Methodist Minister from Christchurch, Phillip Ramsey, eloquently expressed many of these points. This revealing extract captures the way many charismatic clergy saw themselves and their task:

> ...The pure celestial fire that kindled Wesley's dry spirit [that night] setting his heart dancing at the sound of Jesus's name, and giving England full proof of his ministry, can surely come to his New Zealand progeny. Re-examining their spiritual heritage and longing for something akin to "the

[149] Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

> good old days" of robust evangelism, many of them are attending Pentecostal services and studies.[150] If John Wesley made a mid-week reappearance he would be filling his car with them. For he was driven by the same hunger. More of God! ...
>
> From stained glass niceties to a barren hired hall is a distinct ecclesiological change. But no come-down! Jesus was as surely amongst us in His risen power—and where He is, there is the Church. ...
>
> *****
>
> More than Pentecostalism is on trial. Mainstream churches are having their charity and wisdom tested by this spiritual challenge to a more vital, more fruitful, more confident life in Christ. ...It challenges the Church's heart, not its mind. Theological and psychological excursions could help, of course—so long as the probers remember that they are investigating an experience, not an argument. A church that chooses a too-hasty yank at the disciplinary plug will lose a precious baby with the bath water. Intellectual scorn, incredulity, or mocking laughter born of ignorance will injure truth. The shrug of indifference could have us waiting for the Bridegroom with flickering lamps and no spare oil.[151]

Then, having discussed issues within Methodism, he illustrates how easy it is for insensitive or proud leaders to thwart the higher purposes of the Spirit:

> ...Independent operators start up in a town, drawing, in the first instance, the people from the established churches as a nucleus. They embarrass the assemblies of Pentecostal persuasion already serving the community with their special emphasis. Some may stray from these to the new man, compounding the disunity. I see some congregations split by the misplaced ardour of the pastor who has come into the blessing of Baptism in the Spirit. He can preach of nothing else. "Now I want you all to speak in tongues" is the unannounced text. He is tempted to play favourites with those who share with him in all things, make the non-starters and also-rans feel they are second grade Christians, ... Is this the fruit of the Spirit? ...We all need more love, and those who testify to blessings by the Spirit over and above the average Christian should be shining exponents of its fruits.[152]

This was wise counsel as subsequent events would prove, but in reality, no matter how 'gentle' or subtle ministers were, the essence of renewal—Spirit baptism and tongues—often induced fear and suspicion. It remains in this section to explore what factors were present in Christchurch which were successful in helping move the renewal from the radical fringe, as was commonly

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[150] Given that Ramsey was writing in Christchurch, the reference here was probably to Morrow, as might the contrast at the start of the next paragraph be also, that is, the Horticultural Hall.
[151] *Logos,* Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1967, pages 1 and 2.
[152] *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

feared in the early years, into the mainstream life and ministry of accommodating churches.

As evident at the Revival Fellowship, committed and sensitive leadership were critical in bringing change. In that case however, Morrow was carving a niche for independent pentecostalism in the city which, up to 1962, scarcely existed except the small home group fellowships and Wheeler's Addington meetings. Charismatic clergy however, had to work within their parishes and denominational traditions, but where they were able to articulate the reinterpreted role of the Spirit in leading people to Christ, and convey the fillip charismatic ministries could provide to the *traditional* life of the Church (particularly in evangelical churches, making converts, and 'empowering for service' in missions and outreach), a foothold was established for grafting renewal into everyday life and witness. There was a concurrent need in this process for teaching on the Holy Spirit and encouraging participation in seminars and other meetings given to this purpose. And each of these variables, in parishes where integration occurred, was a function of time.

An example of integration highlighting the role of leadership and the influence of the wider charismatic culture, including overseas speakers, and the need to move cautiously, occurred at Spreydon Baptist Church. The minister, Murray Robertson, arrived in 1968 after a period of theological study in Scotland. As a former Presbyterian, Robertson had been influenced by early charismatics in Wellington after conversion at the Graham crusade in 1959, but unlike those writing for *Logos,* claims he 'only gradually warmed-up'[153] to charismatic things after arrival at Spreydon. Recalling the early years from 1968 to 1974 he noted that:

> ...Muri Thompson came here, he had been involved in a revival in the Solomon Islands...and then the Jesus Movement came, but we were still in the early phases of things here, that didn't impact us that much, we were still a smallish church...it wasn't a defining moment. The most important moment for me was David Watson's mission here in [May] 1973. ...He talked about his church in York, how it was an evangelical church that had been revived in the Spirit, and he was really saying all the kind of stuff that I believed could happen...I remember saying to people if this church divides, it will divide over the issue of evangelism, not over spiritual gifts.

[153] Robertson interview, 8 October 1997.

> David talked to me about the crucial importance of worship and renewal of worship so we embarked down the track on that. ...
>
> And then the next important thing was David Pawson coming here a couple of years later. He spoke twice here on Sunday morning and Sunday afternoon. He spoke about spiritual gifts, 1 Corinthians 12 and 13, and that legitimised [the renewal], no-one objected to him—there were plenty at Opawa that disagreed with him, but there was no disagreement with him here at all, I think we came gradually at the thing...not long after that we did lose a couple of people—one from each end of the spectrum—one pentecostal-oriented person who felt we were 'dragging the chain', and the other, a very conservative person. ...[154]

Robertson's insistence however, on a multi-facted approach embracing personal renewal alongside evangelism, mission, expository preaching 'not harping on about one or two things, but the whole gospel'—and attempting to keep these in balance—were critical in the transformation of Spreydon Baptist. 'By the mid-1970s [he adds] our small church had grown to a total worshipping attendance of about 300 people'.[155] This was achieved without him becoming a 'card carrying' charismatic. In this instance, the keys were purposeful leadership, sense of timing, and *selective appropriation* of charismatic influences, particularly music and worship.

As has been demonstrated, a wider culture of charismatic renewal was pervading the denominational churches by the mid-1970s. Groups such as CAM, the Unity Singers and Women's Aglow were actively promoting renewal and raising its profile. In other churches, Shirley Methodist, for example—a church later to become known for its endorsement of an evangelical-charismatic ethos—the renewal arrived more by osmosis of this culture, rather than the deliberate influence of apologetic clergy, such as the *Logos* authors, or the more moderate endorsement provided by Robertson at Spreydon Baptist.

By June 1972 there was '...a quickening of the spiritual life of the Church was felt by members of the leaders' meeting and it was decided to hold prayer meetings at 6.45 p.m. on Sundays in July',[156] while later in the year, a follow-up

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[154] *Ibid.* The Opawa Baptist minutes of 27 February 1974 correct the date of Pawson's visit suggested by Robertson. Pawson was in Christchurch from 19 to 26 May 1974.

[155] 'Twenty Five Years and Three Lessons Later', Spreydon Baptist broadsheet, originally printed in *Ministry Today* 1994.

[156] Leaders' Meeting minutes, 26 June 1972, p. 2. Methodist Archives.

discussion of the 'Shalom Programme' held in November led to direct moves to introduce more active participation into services. It is recorded in the Minutes that:

> On the suggestion of the Chairman it was agreed that the 'Shalom' report should be studied by the meeting and there was a long and thorough discussion on the recommendations included in the report.
>
> It was decided that some of the recommendations for spontaneity in worship should be introduced into our Church as soon as possible and more active participation of the lay people in church worship should be encouraged. ...For a more spontaneous and informal approach to worship in the Church it was decided to...remove the four front pews in the church and to replace the pews with chairs.[157]

The gradual incorporation of change led to closer networks with other churches and programmes such as 'Fullness of Life' in September 1974 being offered.[158] As was often the case, however, charismatic influence created tension, and at Shirley Methodist this appeared when concern was expressed that those leading Bible Class needed to teach on the Holy Spirit:

> Mrs D. E. Nesbit mentioned that she viewed with some concern the effect of the Charismatic Movement on members of our Bible Class and asked members of the Leaders' Meeting to discuss the subject. The matter was discussed and the opinion expressed that the influences of the Charismatic Movement on members of the Bible Class presented a challenge to leaders to give guidance on teaching concerning the Holy Spirit.[159]

It was later acknowledged the choir was 'a disappearing institution [and] an instrumental group had been established for Bible Class sing-a-longs', also there was 'chorus singing before the Sunday evening service'.[160]

Shirley Methodist is an example of how a wider charismatic culture was introduced. Important elements such as the influence on the Bible Class and the music and the need for teaching, were typical in churches whose leaders were curious enough to be open rather than defensive in the first instance.

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[157] *Ibid.*, 4 December 1972.
[158] Leaders' Meeting minutes, 19 November 1974. Methodist Archives. It would appear these changes generally had the support of Ivor Bailey, the presbyter at the time.
[159] *Ibid.*, 7 September 1976.
[160] Choir Report to the Annual General Meeting, 5 October 1975. Methodist Archives.

In other churches and denominations, charismatic influence was becoming difficult for leaders to ignore, as in the Anglican diocese and the comments of Bishop Pyatt. By 1977 he was prepared to admit—begrudgingly, if viewed in light of earlier comments—that *the renewal had its place*, at least for those who had discovered new life through its activities. He said:

> ...I would be overstating the case to talk of revival—but the movement is certainly in that direction.
>
> I find it difficult to find a reason for this: only that there is no single cause. Some of us will have discovered new life through the charismatic movement and praise God for what he has wrought through folk so moved. It is neither as wide as some of its protagonists imagine nor as threatening as some have feared: and where it has ceased its either naïve or possessive stances it is feeding the people of God either directly through those attracted to the movement itself, or through life in the spirit seminars. ...
>
> And renewal is coming also along the old roads, whether assisted or not by thanksgiving or charismatic programmes—so that where parson and people are doing their job, saying their prayers, reaching out into the community, and caring for each other—we are becoming more conscious of the hand of God amongst us. For several areas we strove and were conscious of only holding the bridge: now, in so many areas we see an advance being made. Praise God for what he is doing.[161]

While these responses did not constitute official endorsement, an acknowledgement of renewal and the effect it was having at least brought it into the reckoning of prominent clergy and that, in itself, helped bring the perception of renewal closer towards respectability. Charismatic renewal had moved from the fringe to become the subject of consideration in challenging and changing times.

The other dimension of this accommodation for those promoting the renewal was the danger of a gradual routinisation of charisma, or where the prophetic aspect of radical enthusiasm was starting to give way to established form. By 1977, however, there were still several new initiatives occurring as well as continued input from para-church groups to sustain the renewal. The combined result was leading it towards an apogee.

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[161] *Year Book, 1977,* pp. 29-30.

5.3.2. New Initiatives

At the critical juncture of the mid-1970s the charismatic renewal in Christchurch evolved along new pathways. Many were not yet aware of theological issues and the inexorable pull towards institutional form was obscured by the excitement of new initiatives which continued to be strongly inter-denominational in nature.

Russell and Ivy James arrived at Opawa Methodist Church in 1975. Having been involved in similar developments elsewhere, they immediately entered into the charismatic scene in Christchurch and were part of new praise and ministers' prayer groups, the latter spawning missionary conventions based at Opawa. Their comments touch on these developments and illustrate the on-going links with pentecostals and the continuing importance of Morrow and the New Life Centre:

> The CAM Summer Schools being held at Lincoln primarily, were very important occasions for the initial years. Group 70 was also having a major impact at that particular time...regional meetings [were established] throughout the city and we were involved with the Christchurch South Festival of Praise. ...[The young people] used to go through to Phil Pringle's church at 4 o' clock [the Miracle Life Centre in Lyttelton] and then set us alight at 7 o' clock, and it was a great joy. The New Life Centre was a great church. It didn't hold any tags or anything; you were invited to every speaker they had. They would gather Christians from every church, encourage us to come, and then send us back with the messages we had received, ...
>
> In the mid-seventies we were involved in a ministers' group which met on a monthly basis. It comprised Peter Morrow, Murray and Marj Robertson [Spreydon Baptist], Gerald and Jan Tisch from St. John's Woolston, Arnold and Shelly Highet from Wainoni Methodist, and ourselves. That was a major time of ministerial support, encouragement and learning from one another. It went on for several years and it was out of that we began our missionary conventions in 1977.[162]

The regional Festivals of Praise were 'a gathering of Christians of all denominations to praise God for his work of renewal in the churches',[163] and were combined with prayer and teaching,[164] healing, Christmas and charismatic

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[162] James interview, 9 August 1997.

[163] *The Press*, 26 November 1977, p. 24. This particular meeting was held in the Town Hall on Friday, 2 December.

[164] For example, the 'Healing-Teaching Mission' at St. Saviour's on 20 and 21 September 1975. *Ibid.*, 20 September 1975, p. 21.

eucharists.[165] Group 70, the Bread of life Eldership and St. John's Latimer Square frequently sponsored the city-wide events, while individual leaders, such as Bruce Beckett at St. Saviours in Sydenham-Beckenham enthusiastically promoted regional meetings. While predominantly Anglican, conscious efforts were made to give these and other healing meetings a non-sectarian tone.[166]

One meeting in September 1976, for example, 'Worship in Spirit and in Truth', featured Morrow as speaker with music led by the Unity Singers, while the venue was Sacred Heart Catholic Church in Addington, and the event itself was organised by Group 70.[167] Pentecostals, Anglicans and Catholics were united in the charismatic cause.[168] Continuing the close co-operation, the following day (Sunday) another 'inter-denominational celebration' was held in the evening at St. Bartholomew's Church in Kaiapoi, and this featured a 'charismatic communion' and open invitation for musicians to bring their instruments.[169]

Developing the music of renewal was an aspect beginning to receive attention in this period. An unlikely source for this was Rutland Street Brethren Chapel where keyboardist Rob Packer was offering 'bright singing' services[170] and music seminars.[171] The leaders of the very influential Scripture in Song ministries, David and Dale Garratt, visited Christchurch in December 1975 and participated in meetings at the Revival Fellowship,[172] and more significantly, with the YWAM

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[165] For example, a 'Christmas Charismatic Eucharist' was held at the Anglican Cathedral (with music by the Unity Singers) on Thursday, 16 December 1976, *The Press,* 11 December 1976, p. 25.

[166] It is significant that healing meetings were being held at St. John's Latimer Square, and the Anglican Cathedral, the very symbol of the Church of England and of the city itself. On two notable occasions, the respected overseas evangelist, Harry Greenwood ministered. See *The Press,* 21 February 1976, p. 22, and 19 February 1977, p. 22. 'Oasis Healing Services' were held at St. John's and these were advertised as 'inter-denominational' where all were invited to 'Come and Receive Abundant Life Through Jesus Christ', *Ibid.,* 23 October 1976, p. 23. The Congregational Church in Linwood also ran three-days' of healing meetings with the leading minister J. B. Chambers conducting the services, *The Press,* 20 September 1975, p. 21. Chambers wrote a history of Congregationalism in New Zealand (*A Peculiar People*), in 1984.

[167] *Ibid.,* 9 October 1976, p. 21.

[168] In a similar situation, a 'Charismatic Teaching Weekend', focusing on 'the local church situation' and 'bearing fruit' was held at St. Matthew's Church in Cranford Street, in late 1974. The speakers were Alex Munro, Ces Dennehy, David Balfour, Murray Robertson, Ray Scott and William (Billy) Pearson. In a conspicuous show of unity, this brought Presbyterians, Catholics, Anglicans, Baptists and an Apostolic pastor together. *The Press*, 9 November 1974, p. 25.

[169] *Ibid.,* 9 October 1976, p. 21.

[170] Packer, a talented composer, arranger and performer, was the 'musical organiser' at Rutland Street. The 'bright singing services' were frequently advertised. *The Press,* 12 July 1975, p. 25, 8 November 1975, p. 25.

[171] *Ibid.,* 16 October 1976, p. 21. Workshop sessions were offered on keyboards, solo voice, orchestral, rhythm, folk and choir.

[172] *The Press,* 13 December 1975, p. 27.

training camp at Kaiapoi, and a YFC Christmas programme.[173] YFC leaders in Christchurch, it will be recalled, traditionally focused on evangelical programmes and avoided charismatic influence. The invitation to pioneers in renewal music to be involved in their work does not, in itself, indicate a change of direction, but it does demonstrate the wide influence of the new music, and the shift that had occurred to make at least this aspect of the renewal more acceptable to a range of church and para-church groups.

There were also developments within the Catholic renewal. The effects of Vatican II were generally positive although controversy had erupted concerning changes to the interior of the Cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in 1974.[174] But in a positive vein, Bishop Brian Ashby said, 'the controversy had probably done more for reform than the tons of paper and thousands of dollars expended on liturgical formation in the last ten years', and, moreover, that the decision to press ahead, was he believed, animated by the Holy Spirit.[175] Some months later, Ray Scott was appointed liaison priest to the charismatic renewal in Christchurch in January 1975. Ashby reported at the time that 'about 2,200 people in Christchurch were involved in private charismatic prayer groups and of these about 1,200 were Roman Catholics'.[176] In his thinking at least, the renewal was important in taking the Church forward:

> "There is a need to develop authentic lay leadership according to the mind of the Church in our time and to ensure a harmonious growth of the [charismatic] movement within the Church to provide the groups with the theological richness of Catholic tradition", he said. ...
>
> The appointment of Father Scott...marked a new stage in the development of the movement.[177]

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[173] *Ibid.*, 6 December 1975, p. 21.
[174] 'Bishop Decides for Cathedral Changes', *The Press,* 6 April 1974, p. 2.
[175] *Ibid.* A former Catholic involved at the Cathedral, Tom Thompson, whose wife was an organist , recalled that getting choruses into the church at that time 'was hard going for a start', but as it developed, 'there was singing in tongues'. Telephone interview, 5 June 2000.
[176] *The Press,* 18 January 1975, p. 7. The Cathedral issue continued for some time and centred around a free-standing altar closer to the people. Ashby was committed to 'make a reality of [the] liturgical need for living worship', *op. cit.,* 6 April 1974, p. 2.
[177] *Ibid.*, 18 January 1975, p. 7. A similar stance was adopted by Archbishop Delargey when he spoke to Massey Summer School in January 1976. He said: 'In coming here tonight I want to give my witness to our Catholic people involved in the Charismatic movement, the witness of my gratitude that they are prepared to plumb the depths of the Spirit as He speaks His word in the Gospel, in the tradition of the Church, and in the lives of good Christian men and women around us'. Mimeographed speech, Massey Summer School 1976, p. 3.

Scott's appointment reflected the high level of involvement from a number of Catholic clergy in the city, as well as the Bishop's view that the renewal had its place in 'the Church of our time'. With such strong endorsement and a sense of change, efforts were made to invigorate the Catholic communities (particularly the community-parish links) and work with those in other churches.[178] The renewal provided further inspiration to facilitate these goals.

Radio Rhema, an inter-denominational group committed to Christian radio, was launched in Christchurch after many years of planning. Despite efforts to maintain a non-sectarian ethos, many early personnel, including the first outreach director, Neville Rush, were 'strongly charismatic in influence'.[179] Not surprisingly, the Unity Singers performed at the dedication service in November 1977.[180] Like other para-church groups, Radio Rhema was not conspicuously charismatic but it benefited from the momentum of interest and involvement in renewal activities and events.

Developments at the Sydenham AOG in the early 1970s resulted in pastor Dennis Barton setting up a new church, the Family Centre, in 1973.[181] The background to this will be covered in next chapter, but it should be mentioned here that although Barton had firm AOG roots, his work with the Family Centre had an outward focus aimed at serving a wider pentecostal and charismatic constituency. Accordingly, meetings were openly promoted as 'undenominational-pentecostal' and emphasising 'revival'. In an early advertisement he asks: 'The Jesus Revolution has been with us for several years—where do we go from here?', and, 'What is God wanting to do for people of all ages? Come and hear a message answering these questions. There will be special healing power for the sick'.[182]

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[178] 'Christian communities', *The Press*, 18 May 1974, p. 16. The exact effect of the renewal is not known but given the high involvement of Catholics involved in charismatic prayer groups, the popularity of home groups at this time, the endorsement of priests and the Bishop, and the desire to form 'experimental communities within parish structures', considerable influence is probable.

[179] McNeil, telephone interview, 23 April 2002. Rush was involved in the New Life Centre. McNeil added that the Salvation Army strongly supported Rhema.

[180] *The Press*, 19 November 1977, p. 26. This followed a ten day broadcast in December 1976-January 1977 in lieu of a licence, *ibid.*, 3 January 1977, p. 4.

[181] This was in May 1973.

[182] *The Press*, 5 May 1973, p. 20.

Notwithstanding the split that saw him leave the Sydenham church, Barton was very aware of the need to continue the ministry associated with the conversions of the early 1970s,[183] which were in effect, an outcome of the charismatic renewal, more than they were the result of traditional pentecostal activity. As such his ministry was an aspect of the critical years of growth.

5.3.3. Towards a Zenith

Distinguishing features of the renewal up to and including the mid 1970s were the volume of para-church activities, concerted efforts within local churches to bring change, and the cohesion that characterised ecumenical endeavours. By 1977 it could be said that the combined effect of these variables constituted a zenith of the renewal in Christchurch. Integration into churches at the parish level was not yet seen as representing stagnation, nor as a pull towards institutionalism, as much as it was a sign of maturity and the realisation of a goal held by early charismatics. Expressions of theological self-doubt were not widely acknowledged while other tensions tended to be subsumed by the sheer momentum of new activity.

Other aspects of this maturity were the confidence that many charismatics expressed in working together, and the acknowledgement (in some cases open endorsement) that denominational leaders were prepared to give to the renewal. The need amongst leaders in conservative churches and groups to explore and respond, particularly with regard to teaching on the person and ministry of the Holy Spirit, is also indicative of the renewal's impact. In dialectical parlance, almost all churches could be said to be affected. Sensing the effects such teachings could have on their own ministries, as well as the more honourable duty of speaking out against what were perceived to be 'false doctrines', the Brethren assemblies and the Reformed Church, for example, responded in different ways—the former with 'counter' rallies and teaching outreaches on related topics; the latter with a full exploration of pentecostalism at the Synod level.

[183] Barton interview, 6 October 1997.

Developments over the next few years, especially in the early and mid-1980s, were to see changes to this pattern of expansion and growth and these will be considered in Chapter 8.

Summary

The cultural context in which the charismatic renewal appeared and flourished was characterised by widespread change and uncertainty in the 1960s. This had international, national and local dimensions. Church leaders in Christchurch, as in other cities and centres in New Zealand (and throughout the western world), were responding to the demands of the maturing baby boom generation, continued suburban expansion, as well as the need to provide spiritual security in a world where the threat of communist expansion and nuclear war were very real.

On the eve of the eve of the 1960s, the Billy Graham crusade in April 1959 facilitated a new spirit of inter-denominational co-operation and provided fresh interest and resources for reaching the new generation. Efforts amongst some evangelicals were directed towards keeping his name and the 'crusade spirit' alive, but these could not be sustained and para-church groups, notably YFC, developed their own approaches and methods. The established pentecostals were also active, but at this time, lacked the mainstream appeal that the independents, particularly Peter Morrow, were able to develop so effectively after 1962.

What Morrow was able to achieve with 'Adullam's Cave' soon became a movement for change within the denominational churches. Charismatics believed they could answer the challenge to be 'relevant' in the face of modernity, while (paradoxically) recapturing the primitivism of the first century apostles.

Within traditional evangelical and conservative churches, renewal issues had to be addressed. In some cases this resulted in real tension, but through resources such as *Logos,* leading charismatics developed a genuine concern to allay fears and teach about these matters in a moderate and appeasing tone.

The early 1970s were years of frenetic growth aided by special events such as the Jesus Marches and the Commonwealth Games Outreaches, although neither were charismatic events *per se*. A number of para-church groups including Group 70, CAM, Women's Aglow and the Unity Singers, were more overt in their desire to service and expand the local renewal. Individually and collectively, they were successful in this task.

Maturity of the charismatic renewal was evident in the high degree of close co-operation across a range of denominations, including pentecostals. This occurred against and benefited from a long history of ecumenicity in Christchurch, but it also extended it through new initiatives which sustained the enthusiasm. The mid-1970s was a period of considerable cohesion without the problems that were to manifest at the end of the decade.

One aspect of this growth that warrants separate discussion is the contribution of overseas and visiting speakers and this will be addressed in Chapter 7. The next chapter, however, is a close analysis of how the renewal affected three churches; one that slowly came to adopt a charismatic ethos, one whose leadership struggled with the whole issue, and another whose traditional pentecostal constituency was split over charismatic influence. This provides another, more 'grassroots', analysis of the renewal's pervasive impact.

Chapter 6

'We took it over at a very awkward time'[1] - Renewal in Three Churches

The previous chapter considered reasons for the initial and sustained success of the charismatic renewal in Christchurch. A further dimension is added by considering local parishes as the fulcrum at which personal experience was extended to the institutional context. The three selected churches—Hornby Presbyterian, Opawa Baptist, and Sydenham Assembly of God (AOG)—were each profoundly affected by renewal but in different ways and for different reasons.

A number of parishes could have been selected to provide evidence of change. Rutland Street Chapel for example, was among few local Brethren assemblies able to consider aspects of the renewal openly; Opawa Methodist was a leading church within that denomination and the wider city, while Spreydon Baptist has arguably been among the more 'successful', and certainly the largest church in the city to integrate features of renewal.

In each case however, there was not an upheaval as there was in the selected churches. At no point, for example, did the lay leadership of Rutland Street explicitly embrace renewal;[2] it was more a case of valuing the Brethren principle of recognising Bible expositors irrespective of their background, including, on occasions, pentecostals and charismatics. But this is not tantamount to adopting a charismatic ethos.

Due to a connexion decision enabling presbyters of a certain persuasion ('liberal', 'evangelical' or 'charismatic') to be appointed to sympathetic churches with the right to re-station them at a later date, Russell James had a freer hand

[1] This comment from Dennis Barton was in relation to his arrival as pastoral leader at Sydenham AOG in 1967 (see 6.3.1, p. 215), but these sentiments were echoed in the experiences of Robert Yule at Hornby Presbyterian (in 1979) and Gordon Coombs at Opawa Baptist when he returned from Adelaide (in 1973).

[2] Although a later split from the church, Northcote Christian Fellowship, did; as did Bassett Street Chapel, a church 'plant' from Rutland Street (in the 1950s), much later and through a unique turn of events in the 1980s.

to implement the renewal at Opawa (after 1975) than may have been the case in other denominations at that time. And, as discussed, Spreydon Baptist under Murray Robertson did not own the 'charismatic' label *per se*. Renewal was one of many influences—albeit an important one—as strategies for mission were developed in the 1970s.[3]

The experience of the selected churches sharply illustrates the process of extending renewal beyond subjective 'encounter' towards the strategic *locus in quo* of the life and ministry of specific congregations. This analysis also considers what was similar and dissimilar across the churches in question; their common points of tension, and 'success' as well as the identification of significant trends and patterns.

6.1. Hornby Presbyterian[4]

6.1.1. The Gathering Storm

The events at Hornby Presbyterian clearly illustrate what was involved when an established parish became exposed to the renewal and, owing to a groundswell of support, was required to respond. As always, the unique history of the parish was important in shaping more recent developments pertaining to renewal.

By the late 1890s all mainline denominations were represented in Hornby, a growing industrial area in the south-west area of Christchurch. Along with Roman Catholics, the Presbyterian presence dates from 1898.[5] Initial numbers were considered too small to warrant an independent charge, so a Presbytery decision of 10 May 1898 was made to unite Hornby, Halswell and Kimberly. A new sanctuary on Main South Road was erected in 1908 which served the parish

[3] See 8.3.1, p. 308, n. 131 for more on Northcote Christian Fellowship, and also 8.3.2, p. 310, n. 139, for an overview of developments at Bassett Street.

[4] An expanded version of this section appeared as a paper; 'The Full Message of This New Life', in *Australasian Pentecostal Studies* No. 5-6, March-October 2001, pp. 22-39.

[5] Primary data for this section was obtained from the Session Minutes and other records held at the church and also research conducted by Janet McCallister in the mid-1980s. This, however, was not published and survives in loose-leaf and note form.

for the next sixty years, until a new building in Amyes Road was opened in June 1968.[6]

More important was Hornby's status within the Presbytery. From 1910 it was officially a 'Home Mission Station' staffed by 'stipendiary lay agents', as the Home Missionaries were then known. Hornby also relied heavily on itinerants, usually in the form of ministers in training, home missionaries, and retired or semi-retired ministers. Between 1901 and 1932 no less than thirteen men served the parish with an average stay of eighteen months.[7] This had an adverse effect upon the life of the church and may explain why later ministers, who have tended to stay comparatively long tenures, were valued so strongly. Home missionaries also tended to be evangelical despite their frequent absence of formal theological training.[8]

As the population of the Hornby Borough grew after World War II and a new adjacent housing area, Hei Hei, was developed, there were definite moves towards the parish becoming a self-supporting charge. This occurred in December 1958. Between 1956 and 1962 the population of Hornby had risen 51 percent, and in response a new worship facility was established at Hei Hei.[9]

Despite suburban growth and growth within the parish itself, the 1960s were a challenging decade. With the appointment of Alex Munro as minister from March 1963[10]—in itself a stabilising development at Hornby—wider forces of change brought considerable tension. Munro was a firm evangelical and almost archetypically suited to the role. He emphasised the personal disciplines of Bible

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[6] Brochure published for the shift to Amyes Road, June 1968.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Home missioners grew from 10 in 1899 to 15 in 1900 spread across twenty-six stations. They were finally disestablished by the General Assembly in 1962. See Harold Scott, *A Pioneering Ministry—Presbyterian Home Missionaries in New Zealand 1862-1964* (Wellington: Presbyterian Church, 1983), especially the Preface and pages 4 and 28.
[9] Pronounced 'high high', the name is of Maori origin. A Presbyterian church attached to Hornby was erected in Hei Hei in December 1961. Demographic data is from census returns. Local government amalgamations may inflate or deflate the figures as boundaries were altered.
[10] Munro was born in Scotland in the 1920s but later migrated to New Zealand. He attended Mornington Presbyterian Church in Dunedin and later Knox Theological College, and was ordained in 1950. Prior to Hornby he had ministered in South Canterbury at Fairlie. He moved to Forrest Hill on Auckland's North Shore in 1977, where he died after a period in retirement in 1999.

reading and prayer and the idea that 'church was more than simply a once-a-week experience'.[11]

Munro gained a reputation for short, 'straight-up three point sermons' and evangelical zeal. Under his influence, like-minded parishioners developed a sensitivity to doctrinal error and perceived shifts in the social or moral *status quo.* Among those with influence were members of the migrant Dutch community who had brought with them a strong Reformed heritage.[12]

This blend of parishioners—those who valued the presence of a permanent minister, with those more recent members (including migrants) who appreciated clear evangelical exposition—shaped the character of the church in the early 1960s more significantly than other factors; for example, socio-economic profile, suburban growth or the continued expansion of industry. However, it was the advent of liberal theology and reaction within the national Church that proved a catalyst for change and new tensions at Hornby. The face of liberal theology in New Zealand was, significantly, a Presbyterian, Lloyd Geering, a professor at Knox College in Dunedin. Geering's comments in the Presbyterian newspaper, the *Outlook,* questioned historical claims concerning the veracity of Jesus's resurrection.

When published in April 1966 the response from Hornby Session was immediate. In the first of numerous submissions to Christchurch Presbytery and the General Assembly, a paper issued 'a firm restatement of [the parish's] evangelical beliefs'.[13] Geering's later assertion that 'man has no immortal soul'[14] also prompted a sharp response and alignment with the nationally organised opposition group, the Layman's Association.[15] The Association called for the

[11] Interview with Ian and Noeline Mackie, 29 August 1997. The Mackies have attended Hornby Presbyterian since the late 1950s.
[12] The Dutch were among the European peoples to settle in Christchurch after 1945. They came from the Netherlands and the Dutch-East Indies (Indonesia). The first migrants gained a reputation for hard work and readily assimilated, while subsequent generations have became well represented in business and the professions.
[13] Session Minutes, 27 April 1966.
[14] These comments were made during a sermon at Wesley Methodist Church, Wellington in March 1967.
[15] One of the Association's key figures, Robert Wardlaw, was related to Stewart Wardlaw who later became an assistant to Munro and leading elder at Hornby. E. M. Blaiklock, Professor of Classics at Auckland University led the intellectual opposition to Geering. He correctly noted in his book *Layman's Answer—An Examination of the New Theology* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), that: 'The suddenness of the outbreak was what surprised some people. It was as though a hightide of penultimate theology, which had reached spring levels in

Assembly to be less ambiguous over statements of doctrine and to be firm in requiring ministers to uphold accepted teachings of the Church as set out in the Westminster Confession.

Assembly's 1967 response to Geering that 'no doctrinal error had been established' resulted in calls at Hornby for a split from the national Church. But, as one member attempted to explain:

> ...the time had come for a definite split within the Presbyterian Church. Session, however, felt that it was unwise to act in this manner. Elders expressed their view that contributing to the [national Church] Budget was aiding the propagation of false doctrine. [This member] announced his resignation [but] Session refuses to accept this at the moment and will let the matter lie for a month.[16]

The protracted nature of the debate—it continued into the early 1970s until Geering had resigned his post—and the perceived inability of Assembly to deal decisively with the issue polarised Hornby Presbyterian and forced a retreat into a defensive evangelical position. Munro did not possess the skills to address the concerns at a theological level, but the response both within the parish and in wider Presbyterianism augured well for his ministry, and the growth of Hornby after those favouring a more conspicuously Reformed ethos had resigned and left (some assisting with the establishment of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in Christchurch).[17]

At this point Hornby's popular evangelicalism became a weakness. The three point sermons and attendant moral prescriptions for which Hornby, and more specifically, Munro, had become known, had, by the time of shift to the new sanctuary, been the reason why the church had felt the effects of liberalism more keenly than other churches. The security provided by this approach proved

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New York State and Massachusetts in 1961, and at Woolwich on the brown Thames two years later, had spilled into the Pacific, with its last surge washing Otago Heads'. p. 9.

[16] Session Minutes, 13 November 1967.

[17] The resignations were ironic because Munro's ministry was regularly drawing people from across the city and as far away as Culverden, 90 kilometres to the north. Mackie interview, 29 August 1997. The Orthodox Presbyterian Church became the 'Evangelical Presbyterian Church' (or 'EPC') in April 1985, presumably to avoid confusion surrounding 'orthodox'; that is, linking the church with the Greco-Russian traditions.

inadequate to grapple with and respond to the issues, and higher criticism generally.

The Geering controversy coincided with the union debate which created further instability and new uncertainties, especially for the Reformed polity and separation of the clergy and laity which Hornby had come to value as pivotal to the Presbyterian system of order and governance. The implications of *The Plan for Union*, as the specific proposal was called, further undermined this structure.[18] In response to the 1967 Assembly remits, the following objections were noted in the Session Minutes:

> [regarding the remit 'The Ministry of the Church' there was]...some concern on the reference to the Sacrament of Baptism and the rite of confirmation. Session was of the opinion that this sentence [is] open to interpretation as baptismal regeneration which is opposed to biblical truth. ...Session confirmed its belief that the individual believer is a priest in the sight of the Lord. [In Section III regarding the 'Ordained Ministry'] Session could not support an Episcopalian system.[19]

An Episcopalian system, it was believed, would open the way for other, more foundational doctrines to be undermined. The union negotiations brought into focus two issues that would later be addressed within a charismatic framework: the position on ecumenical links with Roman Catholics and the vexed issue of baptism. Munro's stance on Catholicism was clear and uncompromising; while there was no understanding of baptism as including 'Spirit baptism' at this time.

In November 1966 a letter was received on behalf of the local Anglican, Methodist and Roman Catholic parishes requesting Hornby's involvement in the combined Christmas Service. This led to an extraordinary meeting of the Session where the following motion was passed: 'Because this Session is not in agreement with Roman Catholic doctrine, we do not wish to take part in combined services of this nature'.[20] A similar request in early 1969, this time from a member of the Hornby Women's Fellowship wanting to know if Catholics could participate in those meetings, prompted the reply:

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[18] *The Plan for Union* which gave definite shape to the proposal was published in September 1969. A revised edition appeared in 1971.
[19] Session Minutes, 22 May 1967.
[20] Session Minutes (Extraordinary Meeting), 9 November 1966.

> ...that because of our disagreement with Roman Catholic doctrine, this church will take no part, in any official capacity, in any combined service in which Roman Catholics are participating. ...We still acknowledge the freedom of the individual to make his own decision.[21]

The forcefulness of these views was typical of the period.

The second issue was baptism. The traditional Presbyterian rite involved sprinkling the head of an infant as a forward sign of God's grace accompanied by a pledge from parents to nurture the child in the things of the faith. This was the procedure faithfully adhered to until this arose amidst a gamut of other issues in November 1969.

The Session Minutes note that Munro 'expressed his disapproval of the present custom of baptising all [children] who were brought [for baptism] whether the parents attended church or not. [There] should be a right of refusal in certain cases'.[22] What was implied here (and subsequently debated and agreed upon) was that non-attending parents did not have the right to have their children baptised. The difficulty, as one member pointed out, was that baptism provided 'an evangelical opportunity' to outreach, but this was overruled at the vote.

A further complication involved members who had joined the church after infancy and come to faith. For them baptism in response to the biblical imperative 'repent and be baptised' meant an immersion service outside the Presbyterian Church. This 'believer's baptism' occurred on at least one officially acknowledged occasion. In November 1969 the Session Clerk wrote to the Board of Deacons of Riccarton Baptist Church 'thanking them for the provision they had made for [a recent] service of baptism'.[23]

In the immediate pre-charismatic era discussions on baptism centred on two issues: firstly (as mentioned), the pressure to baptise infants of non-attending parents, and secondly, the theological issue raised within the union debate which implied 'baptismal regeneration'; that is, a belief that the sacrament of baptism in itself represented a turning from one's sins and full entry into the Christian

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[21] *Ibid.*, 5 February 1969.
[22] Session Minutes, 24 November 1969.

life. This belief lay outside the historic soteriological concept of conversion emphasising sinfulness (or 'consummate wickedness' as Calvin called it) and a concurrent need for God's grace. When charismatic renewal became an issue at Hornby a few years later, a further perspective was introduced with discussions on the validity or otherwise of some members' purported baptism in the Holy Spirit. At this point however, baptism was an issue of practical concern (whether or not parents of infants regularly attended church) more than anything else. Baptismal regeneration would be a potential concern only if the union proposal materialised.

Despite the withdrawal of a dissenting element during the Geering debate[24] the church experienced steady numerical growth. Roll numbers doubled from 97 communicant members in 1961, to 197 by 1971-72.[25] But what these figures conceal is that the character of the parish had also changed from its fledgling and nominal status within the Christchurch Presbytery in 1960 to being an exemplar of the evangelical tradition with a city-wide reputation. By the early 1970s however, the children who had sat compliantly in Sunday School a decade earlier were becoming teenagers and caught up in cultural forces which demanded change including new ways of expressing their faith.

6.1.2. Charismatic Impact

The problems experienced at Hornby Presbyterian in the 1960s related to tensions between doctrinal purity and diversity in the Body. There was no mention of anything related to pentecostalism before March 1968 when Session received a report from the Life and Work Committee of Assembly. In what was considered 'an objective and detailed initial assessment':

> The term "Pentecostal" [it was noted] may have misleading connotations, but it is a popular description of certain activities penetrating orthodox denominations. The interest in, and experience of "Charismatic Renewal" or "Baptism of the Holy Spirit" was for long regarded as the sole prerogative of the pentecostal sects; today we find it affecting some of our own Church people. Many have looked askance at such developments.

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[23] *Ibid.*

[24] The debate continued long after the 1967 Assembly held in Christchurch (31 October to 8 November) and through to 1970 when the Presbyterian Church disassociated itself from Geering's views.

[25] Membership figures are compiled from Annual Reports.

> Some have been actively opposed to the accompanying phenomenon of "speaking in tongues". ...
>
> The extent of the movement within our Church, or involving our people is not great as yet. We understand it is limited to small groups in Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington and Christchurch. It is, however, a growing influence, so that this is the stage to look at it carefully.[26]

The writer correctly noted Christchurch was significant but may not have been aware that the 'small groups', were, in fact, expanding rapidly at that time.

Peter Morrow's involvement extended to Hornby in 1973, albeit in an oblique manner. In April Munro reported to Session that Peter and Anne Morrow had visited the church's Young Marrieds' Group and that they 'brought a real message from the Lord', and in a manner consistent with his desire for unity, Morrow approached Munro to 'lecture to a Christian group for one hour each Friday morning, on Scripture'.[27] This was accepted although Munro began lecturing in New Testament studies at the Thorrington Road Bible School on Tuesday evenings (rather than Friday mornings); an arrangement which continued for three years. Among the students were David and Nancy Ravenhill and John Steele, all of whom became prominent in local pentecostal leadership. Munro later recalled this being 'a positive experience' and he 'enjoyed good fellowship' with Morrow as a result.[28] This symbiotic relationship between the two pastoral leaders (at least at a personal level) signified the beginnings of renewal at Hornby.

The last years of Munro's ministry (1974 to 1977) coincided with a considerable amount of discussion on charismatic issues. By this time Hornby had become something of a haven for members of the Navigators,[29] which in itself, represented the changing evangelical constituency of the parish. The strong biblicism of this group had a more outward and evangelical focus than the exclusivist and covenantal Reformed position. It was the renewal however, which

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[26] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.* Section VII Life and Work Committee, November 1967, p. 34a.
[27] Session Minutes, 9 April 1973, and also interview with Alex Munro, 26 September 1998.
[28] Munro interview, 26 September 1998.
[29] Navigators was founded in 1933 by Californian, Dawson Trotman. Strongly evangelical, the ministry became prominent among tertiary students. Christchurch leaders at this time were Joe Simmons and Warren Mason.

remained predominant with music being the most openly debated issue. The first change was the dispensing of the sung 'Amen' after each hymn. Small though it was, this heralded the start of much wider change in this area. The minutes for July 1976 note that the Young People's Group was requesting more music during the evening service and opportunities for free prayer, prayer requests and the sharing of testimonies. Although sympathetic, Session felt they should not be allowed 'too much reign lest older members were offended'.[30]

Despite such warnings the issue quickly became divisive when a letter from one prominent member was received stating 'his deep concern over [the] increasing lack of reverence over the recent months at the Hornby Morning services'.[31] This was endorsed by a similar letter with reference to 'a number of churches who had been split through pentecostal influences'. It was decided that only the organ should be used prior to the service, although both organ and piano could be played during the offering and the hymns at the start. The use of Scripture in Song choruses were more suited to guitars and drums and many sounded clumsy on the organ, even if played by competent musicians. One Hornby organist refused to play the modern choruses, resigned from that role and eventually left the church.[32]

The situation came to a head in October 1977 (shortly after Munro had left) when another member of Session declared his charismatic leanings and desire to set up a Bible Study and fellowship. 'The main consensus [Session noted] was that meetings of this nature could spark off what could be a split in our congregation, which [was a] situation we could not tolerate, especially at this time when complete unity was of vital importance during our vacancy'.[33] The period of interim ministry which followed Munro's departure created an opportunity for lay members who supported the renewal to be more assertive in their demands for change.

According to one member then attending Hornby, Munro was a respected preacher and 'second-string' speaker at Navigator conferences.

[30] Session Minutes, 26 July 1976.

[31] *Ibid.*, 16 June 1977.

[32] Session Minutes, 16 June 1977. This was Graham Capill who joined the Reformed Church, eventually gaining ordination within that tradition. Capill later became leader of the Christian Heritage Party after it was launched in July 1989. See also 8.2.2, p. 295.

[33] Session Minutes (Extraordinary Meeting), 25 October 1977.

The new Minister was crucial in this, but facilitating the process proved to be a difficult and painful experience.

Robert Yule was appointed to Hornby in 1979.[34] His first impression of 'the unaesthetic landscape' was its contrast with the hilly terrain of Wellington where he had previously worked as an inter-denominational chaplain at Victoria University. Yule had sympathies with a variety of traditions including Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox; he was also influenced by the rigour of Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF) and had studied under T. F. (Tom) Torrance, the prominent conservative and neo-orthodox theologian, in Edinburgh. Describing himself as 'a progressive evangelical', Yule's frame of reference was wider and more accommodating of theological differences than Hornby had been accustomed to. For many years he had:

> ...found himself differing from the conservative evangelicals, especially those from a Reformed and [Plymouth] Brethren background; those who had not had exposure to IVF's broadening of our minds and boosting of our confidence to apply our faith to academic study, to theology and general culture. ...
>
> I found by contrast, the non-IVF students had a much more defensive, fortress mentality, where I, by nature and nurture had a far more confident view, and that sustained me and by 1966, my first year [at Knox College] and the year of the Geering debate, this never threw me; in fact it became a testing ground, analogous to a boxer who trains by continuous workout. This was a 'workout' in coming to terms with secular theology and secularity in its wider implications...It strengthened my faith rather than diminished it. ...[35]

Yule's vision of Christian community was not easily communicated or understood and many at Hornby felt alienated; a sense reinforced by his wearing of a gown and preaching which was generally considered 'fairly academic'. Some who had been critical of Geering but remained in the church became suspicious of Yule's ecumenism while others with charismatic leanings had difficulty accepting the overt formalism of services and his seeming intransigence over baptism, more

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[34] Yule attended Knox College from 1966 to 1969 and was ordained after graduate study overseas in 1973. He is currently at Greyfriars Presbyterian Church in Auckland (Mt. Eden), but was previously at St. Alban's in Palmerston North. Yule recently completed a term as Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand.

specifically the re-baptism of believers who had been consecrated as infants. The result was another very public split with long-serving elders leaving either to attend Brethren or Reformed Churches, or, in the case of one Session member, to form a new church, the Hornby Elim Fellowship. Yule's actions were likely to offend either the 'conservative wing' of Session or its 'charismatic wing'; while to 'wait and see' tended to frustrate both sides and heighten tension. The Elim dissenters were released 'to do their own thing' but this had a devastating effect upon Hornby, as he later recalled:

> The explicit cause of the rupture was over my catholic [sic] convictions about baptism. I had difficulty accepting the validity of what I would have called 're-baptism' and that was the pressing issue. My impression was that some of the leading, most energetic people in Hornby had just discovered pentecostalism in the form of Queen Street Assembly of God [Auckland] in its heyday. They had been there and came away wanting to embrace it holus bolus and then wanted to push this on the congregation, so we were having disputes very quickly on the introduction of the *Songs of Praise* [etc.] They didn't realise how sympathetic I was to this because through my chaplaincy years [I] had already tasted the joys of a much more loving and embracing pentecostal experience than they represented...[36]

The ensuing difficult period for the parish also brought personal darkness for the minister who drew counsel from Catholics at the Redemptorist Monastery, and also pentecostals. Eventually however, Yule experienced Spirit baptism in October 1981, and from that point, actively introduced Hornby to the renewal. This new direction however, was too late to satisfy the defectors.

Meanwhile Hornby Elim continued to grow reaching a peak attendance in 1983 of around 120 to 180 in the morning meetings and 30 to 60 in the evenings. A former member recalls the music as being 'fantastic' with 'everything there', but the leadership style was considered lacking and very much a 'one-man band'. 'In the early years there was great anointing [sic] on the preaching but rebuke, control and lots of legalism became evident towards the end [in 1990]'.[37] As expected, communion was held each week and the full use of spiritual gifts was

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[35] Interview with Robert Yule, 7 July 1998. It should be added that '...the year of the Geering debate' in fact extended beyond 1966 and into 1967. The heresy trial occurred in 1970 and resulted in the Presbyterian Church disassociating itself from Geering's views.

[36] *Ibid.*

[37] Connie Jackson, telephone interview, 30 March 1998. Jackson attended Hornby Elim. These comments were endorsed by another former member, Tony Kruyk, telephone interview, 2 April 1998.

exercised as was the practice of immersion baptism. In short, these represented all the ministry desires which had not been realised at Hornby Presbyterian prior to the split.

The process of gathering a new and changed constituency at Hornby Presbyterian continued during these years with the church gradually adopting a clear and relatively less controversial evangelical-charismatic ethos. After 1981 Yule dispensed with his formal style and sought 'fellowship' with charismatics, pentecostals and others both locally and nationally. The schism was helpful in this process, he recalls, as 'a collision which God used to break us [Hornby] out of a ghetto, defensive mentality into a model of community outreach and ministry'. The church then became part of a city-wide network that had developed to promote and extend charismatic renewal.

6.1.3. A Changed Ethos

It is unlikely that Hornby would have become an evangelical-charismatic congregation without Yule's personal endorsement, commitment and energy. The Elim experience illustrated that a number of parishioners up to 1981 were sufficiently frustrated with the lack of 'progress' to leave and establish their own church, while conservative evangelicals continued to voice their opposition to charismatic developments, resulting in some defections to the Reformed and Orthodox Presbyterian Churches. The rump continued to be faithful to Yule and trust his judgement to forge a way ahead. Prior to his Spirit baptism, and relative lack of experience in the parish, Yule attempted to maintain the weekly functioning of the congregation, but was unsure how to proceed. His personal experience of renewal however, helped set Hornby Presbyterian on its new pathway.

The 'ghetto mentality' to which Yule referred was an accurate label for a parochialism inherent in conservative and evangelical churches. To meaningfully engage culture was less important than maintaining doctrinal purity and resisting modernity. Hornby's reaction to the Geering affair exposed a lack of intellectual rigour and general inability to address the theological and practical issues posed

by liberalism. For conservatives, charismatic renewal was simply another challenge among a raft of 'modern heresies' to be dealt with.

Yule's scholarship, passion for ministry and willingness to serve all added substance to his charismatic encounter and helped legitimate the new direction. He received guidance from the network of pentecostals and charismatics that met in the city:

> ...I suddenly realised...I'm not just a private individual, a solitary Christian; I'm a pastor of a church! What do I do? So I went and sought the counsel of Rex Meehan. Rex gave me a wonderful one and a half to two hours one afternoon in his office. He gave me some helpful literature to orientate me, confirming my experience. He said, "Every congregation loves to hear what God is doing in the life of its pastor—tell them about it". I don't think he had the first inkling of how explosive that would be in the Presbyterian setting, however admirable it might have been in the pentecostal one. We began to lose more people from [both] sides, ...but it was also instrumental in the turnaround of the church.[38]

From that point Yule openly embraced renewal. A letter to Session in August 1982 expressing concern 'about the increasing pressure being put on church members to conform to charismatic doctrine and way of worship',[39] was, by that time, a more marginalised than mainstream voice. At the Annual General Meeting later that month, Yule issued a congregational letter which unequivocally stated his intentions:

> I believe there will be no restoration of Apostolic Christianity without a revival of the Apostolic experience. I meet many evangelical Christians, who despite their view of the inspiration and authority of Scripture, want to avoid this latter (Apostolic) strand of New Testament Christianity. As if we could have Apostolic Christianity without the Apostolic experience of the Holy Spirit.[40]

The Session later endorsed his stance: 'we lovingly affirm [it was recorded in the minutes] our support of Rob's ministry and we pray that he will continue to rightly discern and follow in the paths that God leads him in'.[41] From then on, a number of other prominent Christchurch ministers and pastors shared at Hornby, including Marcus Arden (a camp speaker in March 1983), Martin

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[38] Yule interview, 7 July 1998.
[39] Session Minutes, 3 August 1982.
[40] Annual General Meeting, August 1982.
[41] Session Minutes, 7 September, 1982.

Warren, Russell James, Rex Meehan, and Ron Tenby (Meehan's assistant).[42] Yule was also a member of the CAM support group, which, he claimed, 'to my knowledge, Christchurch was unique in having a CAM support group', and was asked to speak at the CAM seminar on the West Coast in May 1984.[43]

Yule's comments to the 1984 Annual General Meeting ('Getting Our Act Together') consolidated the direction of Hornby Presbyterian, but also provided an opportunity to assert where, in his view, Hornby stood on the church 'spectrum':

> What is the basic vision and direction for this church, and which I ask you to support? It is this: God wants Hornby Presbyterian Church to be an evangelical and charismatic Presbyterian church; to manifest the life of Jesus in the Hornby community; to serve as a model of renewal for other Presbyterian churches throughout New Zealand, and to share in God's global mission and restoration in these urgent days. ...We are not a liberal, traditional Presbyterian church. On the other hand, we are not a Pentecostal church either, and under my leadership we will not become one. We are an evangelical Presbyterian church in the process of becoming charismatic. Charismatic means discovering the full dimension of the supernatural life of the risen Lord and of the Holy Spirit that was normal experience of the early Christians according to the New Testament.[44]

Yule's dedication to this task during his remaining years at the church[45] set in place a commitment to developing the evangelical-charismatic ethos. That he could clearly differentiate this direction from pentecostalism demonstrates the extent to which the renewal had gained a separate identity. The Hornby story also illustrates the time lag between the frenetic growth of the charismatic renewal in the mid-1970s and its integration into this parish. Yule was 'a late starter' and although the cohesion of those years was waning, the vital role of purposeful leadership is again demonstrated.

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[42] *Ibid., passim.*
[43] Yule interview, 7 July 1998.
[44] Annual General Meeting, August 1984.

6.2. Opawa Baptist

6.2.1. An Avant-Garde Evangelical Church

Opawa Baptist is situated in the southern Christchurch suburb of Waltham, an early settled part of the city. As early as 1877 the adjacent Sydenham area had established its own municipal government, and by the 1881 census, Sydenham, with a population of 8,460, was over double the size of any of the other six boroughs at that time.[46] However it was not until 1916 that the more southerly area of Opawa was amalgamated and brought into the greater Christchurch precincts, including Waltham.[47]

Once established, the Baptist presence in the area broadly paralleled demographic growth but it had uncertain beginnings. In 1910 a Rev. R. Thompson on behalf of the Baptist Auxiliary conducted a survey of the area but reported 'the district was hardened to the Gospel [and that] support was almost non-existent'. His recommendation was 'that no further action be taken'.[48] The report was received and the recommendation adopted.

However a sequence of events led to a reconsideration of this decision and a Sunday School was commenced on 8 October 1911 in Goldsmith Street and as an outreach of Sydenham Baptist. On 27 February 1916 a small hall known as Opawa Baptist Mission Hall was opened a short distance away on Wilsons Road. Opawa then became independent of Sydenham Baptist and a management committee of eight people was formed to control the on-going work—an arrangement which continued until the formation of a Diaconate in 1927. The first minister, L. C. Barbour commenced work in the parish on 6 January 1924,

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[45] His last service was on 23 June 1987.

[46] The population of Christchurch in 1881 was 15,213. With 8,460 residents, Sydenham was over double the size of the next largest suburb, Lyttelton (4,127). Although originally sourced from census data the figures here were compiled by Jean Sharfe for the *Christchurch 2000 Project.*

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *75th Jubilee Opawa Baptist Church 1911-1986* (published by the Planning Committee), p. 1. An earlier historical account by J. S. Winder, *Golden Jubilee of Commencement of Work of Opawa Baptist Church 1911-1961,* was also useful for coverage of the formative years. This material was loaned by long-time member David Smith.

and in October that year, the mission was 'henceforth known as Opawa Baptist Church and became an independent institution'.[49]

A parish assistant from a much later era (1971 to 1982), Angus Simpson, began attending the Sunday School in 1927 and recalled that the 1930s were 'growth years' and that 'the church was evangelical from the beginning'.[50] This emphasis developed in the post World War II years under the ministry of Robert (R. J.) Thompson from 1952 to 1958. During his time at Opawa (and in response to the emerging baby boom generation), Thompson initiated a number of successful outreaches; for example, the screening of 'Fact and Faith Films' in 1955 which resulted in the entire district being canvassed door to door 'with personal invitations' being issued. Parishioners also enthusiastically participated in a city-wide NCC children's mission which resulted in outreach to every home in Christchurch.[51]

Thompson's scholarly disposition was well supported at Opawa by an effective administrative network typical of the Baptist tradition. This helped consolidate an expanding church although membership growth in the decade after 1946 was modest. An increase of only 30 persons (from 120 in 1946) to 156 was evident.[52] These figures do not however, reflect the quality of work occurring with youth at the time, nor the practical need that existed for new premises. A distinctive 'A'-frame sanctuary was erected on Wilson's Road in 1953 to meet the needs of a flourishing industrial and residential suburb.[53] Thompson was apparently aware that the circumscribed evangelical ethos of the church was a natural foil for any creeping sense of complacency. He noted in his 1956 comments to the Chairman, Officers and Members that:

> As a church we have now reached what may be termed a critical period. Our people for a number of years had a great deal to strive for and now with a New Church [sanctuary], Youth, Primary and Fellowship Hall plus

[49] 'Baptist Church established at Opawa', *The Press*, 2 October 1924.
[50] Simpson, telephone interview, 12 April 2002.
[51] *75th Jubilee*, pp. 12-13.
[52] Annual Report, 1956. These coincided with the end of the financial year (31 March). The 1956 report contained reflections on the ten years after World War II.
[53] This was opened on 8 November 1953. The writer of the *Golden Jubilee* booklet proclaimed this was 'the greatest day in the history of the Church', p. 21.

> nearly all the things we require, we could quite easily slip into a state of apathy.[54]

Then, the following year, he made what would later prove a prophetic statement:

> This report again illustrates that in nearly all phases of Church life we have again grown...I make no claim that I know any secret which can bring our present set-up of Church life into conformity with God's will, but I am sure of one thing. We all need to get a clear grasp again of what the spirit-filled Fellowship [sic] was like which came into existence just after Pentecost. What the gift of the Holy Spirit did to people, our Church should be doing to people today...the Holy Ghost had come. Nothing was now impossible. 1956-7 will go down in our records as a year of evangelism. ...
>
> These experiences have led a number of us to feel that the next need in the life of our Church is Deeper Life teaching and perhaps a convention on this theme. As I look forward to the future I am emboldened to throw out the suggestion of a THREE YEAR PLAN [sic] which will set both material and spiritual objectives before our people, e.g.
>
> 1958. Repayment [of] Church debt and Deeper Life Emphasis
>
> 1959. Purchase of new organ and Evangelical Emphasis, Membership drive
>
> 1960. Undertaking of a new project (e.g. a visitation) and Missionary Emphasis. 50% of our income henceforward to be given to outside causes.[55]

Thompson resigned in December 1957 so was unable to facilitate this plan. However he could scarcely have envisaged the implications his words would have for Opawa. There could be little understanding of the substance renewal would later give to these aspirations, particularly the desire of what 'our Church should be doing to people today' and the Deeper Life emphasis.

The reception of these comments reflected an over-arching emphasis on traditional evangelicalism as the *raison d'être* of the church. The growing reputation of Opawa in the late 1950s reflected a conspicuous thrust within the wider denomination at that time. As Colin Brown has noted, within the NCC, for example, 'There were those, notably in the Salvation Army and the Baptists but not only there, who retained a faith in large, evangelistic meetings in which a high-powered preacher, backed by suitable music and other aids, pressed for

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[54] Annual Report, 1956, p. 1.
[55] *Ibid.*, 1957, pp.1-2.

personal decisions'.[56] Not surprisingly, the Christchurch Chairman for the 1959 Billy Graham crusade, was Roland Hart, a retired minister of Opawa.[57]

This response to ministry has been called *pietistic evangelicalism.* In a description that accurately reflects Opawa Baptist in the pre-charismatic years of the late fifties, American writer Timothy Weber explains that:

> *Pietistic evangelicals* stand in the Reformation tradition, but they seek to complete it by incorporating the experiential emphases of pietism, Puritanism, and the evangelical awakening of the eighteenth century. They can fight over theology; but they are basically religious pragmatists who stress conversions and holy living, and promote revivals, social reform, and 'higher life' movements. In this category belongs most of the 'evangelical establishment' of the nineteenth century: Methodists, Baptists, Oberlin Perfectionists, New School Presbyterians, holiness groups, and, later on, Pentecostals.[58]

It is significant that the Keswick theology on deeper experience argued for a second experience of grace—but without the use of the demonstrative or sign gifts, which were essential to charismatic belief and practice.

The pragmatism, emphasis on 'decisions' and the 'higher life' to which Weber alludes, found full expression at Opawa in Thompson's replacement,[59] Gordon Coombs, who was 'called' to the church at a Diaconate meeting on 23 March 1958.[60] Coombs, then at Manurewa Baptist in South Auckland, began his first tenure at Opawa in June 1959.

Despite a celebratory tone, the writer of the church's 75th Jubilee history in 1986 was correct in noting that 'under the vigorous leadership of Rev. Coombs the Fellowship entered a decade of growth, not only spiritually and numerically, but also of facilities'.[61] Significantly, it was added, 'the emphasis throughout was on

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[56] Brown, *Forty Years On*, p. 101.
[57] 1941 to 1944.
[58] Timothy P. Weber, 'Premillennialism and the Branches of Evangelicalism' (pp. 5-21), in Donald Dayton and Robert K. Johnson, *The Variety of American Evangelicalism* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), pp. 12-13.
[59] Thompson held B.A. and B.D. degrees and obtained a doctorate from the Baptist Theological Seminary at Ruschlikon. He returned as vice-principal of the New Zealand Baptist Theological College and eventually became principal of Spurgeon's College, London. He later wrote on 'The New Youth Fundamentalism' see *Perspectives on Religion—New Zealand Viewpoints 1974.* A selection of essays given at a Colloquium held at the University of Auckland, August 1974, pp. 85-89.
[60] Church Minutes, 23 May 1958. Coombs held an L.Th. and a professional accounting qualification (ARANZ).
[61] *75th Jubilee*, p. 15.

teaching and outreach, and almost every year a mission was conducted by specially invited speakers'.[62] Attendance statistics provide evidence of this growth, particularly in the decade after 1965.[63]

During that time the membership doubled from 209 in 1964 to 417 in 1976, and average attendance numbers for both Sunday services rose from 320 to 650 across the same period.[64] The number of baptisms—that sign of maturity and full entry into the redeemed life—at no time was high (the figures do not exceed 50 for 1975), and was generally much lower both for this period and right up to 2000.

Against these statistics, there existed a vibrant youth ministry, Deeper Life discipleship programme, visitations, and an extensive network of 'organisations' within the parish. Opawa Baptist had developed into an avant-garde evangelical church.

6.2.2. Renewal at Opawa

The evangelicalism that had evolved at Opawa became sensitive to the adverse affects of modernity as the sixties progressed. Television, for example, affected church attendance and along with other entertainments, indicated a lack of commitment on behalf of members. This was an issue of concern to Coombs, who frequently used the annual report to remind members of their solemn and sacred duties. His 1965 comments were typical: 'one must state lovingly that some members appear to treat lightly the privilege of worship. We all ought to 'examine ourselves' in this matter'.[65] Two years later, he commented, 'personally I am greatly disturbed that each Lord's Day there is an average of 25-35 church members who are not present at either service'.[66]

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[62] *Ibid.*
[63] Although the Annual Reports provided actual membership statistics, the writer is indebted to Kevin Ward for line graph presentations of this data showing actual attendance, membership and baptisms.
[64] Annual Reports.
[65] Annual Report, 1965. pp. 2-3.
[66] *Ibid.*, 1967, p. 4.

The Deeper Life and Self Denial teachings which the church had adopted provided some justification for these comments, but they also began to spawn an awakening interest in charismatic renewal, but this was purely coincidental. A constitution booklet published about this time made it clear that the theological understanding of the work and person of the Holy Spirit promoted and taught within the church was linked to inner piety and ability to witness:

> Our belief in the Personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit and His convicting work in the sinner to quicken to eternal life by repentance toward God and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, to enable the believer to live a holy life, and to witness and work for the Lord Jesus.[67]

At the same time, like leaders in the Anglican diocese, Coombs was aware of the challenge for evangelism and mission that the 1960s presented. In 1963 he said that:

> It is now eighteen years since the end of World War II. In this time a new generation has nearly grown up. They live in a different age to those of us who are older. We also live in a world which is in revelution [sic] in so many ways. But we still believe and are convinced that the Gospel is the power of God unto Salvation but the large masses outside do not. Church-going is not taken for granted today. In our scientific age God is often looked upon as totally irrelevant.
>
> The Church must in these days make her message relevant to everyday life and situations. If we do not—the people are not interested. This means that as a Church and as individual Christians we must not continue to do things because we have always done so. It is the same message that we proclaim but we may need to proclaim it in new ways. ...There will be spiritual battles ahead. Let us be humble and utterly dependant upon the Holy Spirit to work in and through us all.[68]

The tension, then, was to attend to the 'normal' tasks of teaching and preaching, while meeting the demands of a new age. As has been described, this did not encapsulate any real grasp of renewal but the minister's stated opinion certainly encouraged members to be open to proclaim the Gospel 'in new ways'. And herein lies the essence of what occurred at Opawa Baptist: the renewal was an external phenomenon that gradually emerged around the church and affected its members through their attendance at ecumenical and other city meetings, and through the teaching of visiting speakers. It was a protracted development that began with this awakening and was contextualised within wider interpretations

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[67] 'Constitution of Rules of Opawa Baptist Church', n.d., circa 1970.
[68] Annual Report, 1963, pp. 3-4.

of these comments, and, in particular, the emphasis on what Deeper Life teachings might actually entail.[69]

Part of the response to keeping relevant involved the use of choruses in services. Simpson recalls that he and Coombs had visited the 'Cotton Mill' fellowship in Nelson during the 1960s and were impressed by the bright singing and use of choruses. These had particular appeal to youth and were incorporated into worship services at Opawa. 'Early on in Gordon's ministry [he adds] we started using choruses. But in those days there were no overhead projectors and so the words were put on large pieces of cardboard. Singing had always been a vital part of services at Opawa, and to my knowledge, we were among the first churches to use some of those songs'.[70] This approach blended with the use of hymns and the choir.

Charismatic awareness materialised in spite of and not because of any directive from the leadership. The first time it was mentioned in the minute books, only passing reference was made. Speaking on the 'Effects of Pentecostalism', Coombs noted, 'there is no real problem at the moment'.[71] The issue had arisen in relation to the practice and policy on baptism. Interestingly, the concerns at that point were arrangements for the second Billy Graham crusade in March 1969, and the potentially divisive issue of fellowship with Roman Catholics. On this it was noted, 'the Local Ministers' Fraternal two months ago renewed their request for the Roman Catholic Church to come onto the Fraternal. Rev. Coombs said although he was prepared to help in any way possible, he felt he should resign from the Fraternal at this stage'.[72]

Colin Brown notes that the wider ecumenism of the NCC was a feature of the mid and late 1960s: 'The most significant and as it transpired the most controversial of the newly established relationships was with the Roman Catholics'.[73] This was clearly an issue for some local ministers—particularly conservative evangelicals. The first Catholic observers appeared at the 1965

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[69] Deeper life teachings had a long history at Opawa back to at least July 1936, see *Golden Jubilee*, p. 14.
[70] Simpson interview, 12 April 2002.
[71] Church Minutes, 11 September 1968.
[72] *Ibid.*, 9 July 1968.
[73] Brown, *Forty Years On*, p. 131.

annual meeting of the NCC, and in April 1967, Basil Meeking began to attend executive meetings. A joint working committee to discuss topics of mutual interest was subsequently approved, but did not hold its first meeting until June 1969. The delay, Brown adds, 'was occasioned mainly by Baptist uneasiness on two grounds: theological conservatives were unhappy about the scope and implications of the move and Baptist polity was felt to demand wider consultations with membership than other churches felt necessary'. The concern conservatives had was the main issue, and the 1969 meeting resolved, 'that the Executive be asked to consider what efforts need to be made to help theological conservatives within the present membership of the Council to have more confidence in the NCC's basic convictions'.[74]

A feature of the renewal in Christchurch (beginning with Morrow) was the effort leaders made to work with Roman Catholics on a basis of *common* understanding, rather than difference or separation. In this, the position adopted at Opawa Baptist—as at Hornby Presbyterian—was out of step with the ecumenical thrust of the renewal and some of the arguments in favour of church union.[75]

The direction of one particular home group created problems. Home group study provided greater freedom to explore issues than was possible in the Sunday sanctuary setting. A former member of Opawa's Youth Council, Gordon Rosewall, recalls what happened in his father's home group study in the early seventies:

> They would have Thursday night home group studies of which I occasionally sat in on, and thoroughly enjoyed them, because one of the church elders, used to teach at these. Dad was probably more of a facilitator, he was a musician and he probably wouldn't have seen himself as a Bible teacher, but he was certainly very instrumental in facilitating and organising this particular Bible study. So many people used to come and we would study the Bible, yes, and we'd be looking at it from a charismatic perspective too. And so then different people in the church were being baptised in the Spirit, as it were. ...I was a very traditional dispensationalist, ...and what really got me [was] my Dad and [the elder]

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[74] *Ibid.*, p. 132.

[75] It was noted in the Plan that: 'While acknowledging the high ideals and the deep obedience of the forefathers of their Churches in separation, the uniting Churches acknowledge that their denominational differences in the past have frequently obscured their underlying unity in the fellowship of Christ, impoverished their worship, and weakened their evangelistic work in the world'. *The Plan for Union,* p. 8.

> were claiming to have this baptism in the Spirit. ...It was my first awareness and contact with everything [charismatic].[76]

Victor Pollard was another member at this time, but one with growing Reformed Baptist leanings. His initial view of Opawa in 1968 was of 'a thriving, typical Baptist church, ...it wasn't on any charismatic edge, but it was very evangelistic'.[77] However as the renewal began to be felt, it became a means through which both advocates and opponents clarified their respective theological positions. Pollard adds; 'there tended to be an inconsistency in the interpretation of Scripture, ...particularly touching on the work of the Holy Spirit and conversion and on the gifts [but]...no one was coming along whacking the charismatic drum'.[78]

Coombs left Christchurch coincidentally when a further new building (directly across the road from the 1953 'A'-frame sanctuary) was being erected, and that, as well as the variety of preachers that came in the interim, created instability in the parish. His 'call' to Unley Park in Adelaide in May 1972 also coincided with the enthusiasm of the Jesus Marches and the close inter-denominationalism that that created, including pentecostals. But the tenure in South Australia was brief, and in a significant turn of events, Coombs returned to Opawa in February 1973. In Simpson's view, things had not worked out in Australia as envisaged, and also Mrs Lois Coombs's health had been indifferent, so the 'call' to return was accepted.[79]

The new sanctuary which was larger and of a modern design, was opened on Saturday, 28 April 1973. Much effort had been made to create flexible furnishings, especially seating. There was no pulpit and the lectern was movable. Youth were also a consideration; 'A sloping floor to the front of the church will add to the community atmosphere of services and meetings for young people'.[80]

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[76] Rosewall interview, 1 September 1997. Gordon's father William (Bill) was a long-term leader, organist and choirmaster at Opawa. Mr and Mrs Rosewall (senior) resigned from Opawa on 27 April 1977, a matter of months after Gordon and wife Johanna (in 1976). Gordon later became a teacher and a missionary.

[77] Pollard interview, 11 September 1997. A double international sports representative (cricket and soccer), Pollard came to Christchurch to complete teacher training in 1968. He was attracted to Opawa because of the vibrant youth work, the clear preaching and friends who were 'sporty types'.

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] Church Minutes, 29 November 1972.

The new building symbolised wider change. The 'open pulpit' created by Coombs's departure and some dissatisfaction with his return, the use of choruses, a burgeoning youth ministry, and the contemporary layout and feel of the new building all favoured the encroaching charismatic culture, despite there being little acknowledgement in the minutes or annual reports that this phenomenon had in fact 'arrived' at Opawa by 1973.

Further to this, there was no publicly acknowledged 'split' *per se*—members and adherents 'just left'. According to Simpson, there was not much Coombs could do to prevent what happened. True to his strengths, he continued to preach, but this too, created difficulties, and at times, was counter-productive. On one occasion near the end of his second tenure in 1976, Coombs spoke on the doctrine of 'once saved, always saved'. This was followed in the evening with an address on the baptism of the Holy Spirit, as Rosewall explains:

> Another issue was the doctrine of 'once saved, always saved'. Some were polarising on this and it tended to be those who were more of the traditional evangelical tradition. Those of the charismatic persuasion did not tend to believe that and this became an issue of debate at the time. So much so, that one weekend—Queen's Birthday Weekend, 1976—Mr Coombs spoke in the morning on 'once saved, always saved', and in the evening on the issue of baptism of the Holy Spirit, so he addressed two of the most contentious issues all in one day! This only heightened the tension that existed between the two camps...I remember thinking at the time 'this is really heavy', ... [but it only] served to heighten the issues. ...
>
> He was very genuine. He had a big heart for people and he would have been in conflict himself in having to deal with something that was breaking out all around him that he had no control over. He was trying to teach his way through it from where he viewed it. ...The renewal didn't really grow at Opawa; it came to a point where many, many people just left. ...They had a vote. In the Baptist Church the governmental style, the *ecclesia*, the membership, vote. It wasn't a vote on whether we accept the Holy Spirit it was, I think...about whether we support the minister in his stand...it was whether you were pro the renewal or against the renewal.
>
> I remember Mr Coombs was really heartbroken...he was in tears after we [a youth council deputation] had left the meeting. ...[W]e saw what was coming was something new, something fresh, and these people were holding up was God was doing.[81]

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[80] 'New Opawa church to be opened today', *The Press*, 28 April 1973, p. 14.
[81] Rosewall interview, 1 September 1997.

This was the climax of three years of tension within the church. Prominent English preacher David Pawson spoke at Opawa in May 1974[82] and his messages on the baptism of the Holy Spirit, although not overtly apologetic for the renewal, were interpreted in that manner by some members, further fuelling the tension. The main destinations of those leaving ('about fifty-fifty at a guess'[83]) were the Revival Fellowship and Spreydon Baptist.

The vote Rosewall mentioned occurred in September 1976. This turned out to be a decisive moment in the history of the church. Speaking at a leadership meeting on 29 September, it was recorded that:

> Mr Coombs spoke briefly concerning the background to the meeting, and the events which had led up to it. After giving some general comment on the issues under consideration....He acknowledged that he has realized a lack in recent preaching. A problem was seen in the twin directions in which people were moving. Seven motions were then put forward [including]:
>
> *That the Church continues to worship the Lord in the same manner as in the past* (not adopted).
>
> *That the Church re-emphasises evangelism, teaching and missionary outreach under the leadership of the Pastor under the leading of God.* (carried).
>
> *That this Church has no Charismatic teaching from the pulpit.* (Motion not carried)
>
> *That this Church accept the authority of the one whom God has placed in this place.* (carried)[84]

Despite the ambivalence regarding the second last motion and its outcome, there was little inclination among the remaining leaders to embrace charismatic renewal. The strain, was, understandably, very great on Coombs, and it was not surprising he resigned yet again, in January 1977.[85] His two-year re-appointment in 1973 was rescinded (in April 1974)[86] in the hope of a further extended tenure of ministry, but in view of his absolute commitment to the

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[82] Church Minutes, 27 February 1974.
[83] Rosewall interview, 1 September 1997. According to Simpson, the then pastoral assistant, Morrow regretted this sort of growth but admitted that those from Opawa were biblically literate and generally helpful when it came to matters of doctrine or interpretation. Simpson interview, 12 April 2002.
[84] Church Minutes, 29 September 1976.
[85] He did, however, remain in ministry, at Northcote Baptist, in Auckland.
[86] Church Minutes, 9 April 1974.

parish and the difficult situation that had materialised, this decision, was perhaps the only one that could realistically be made.

The search for a new minister provided the leadership with space to reflect and re-think what style would be adopted in the future. For those who remained, the parameters were clearly circumscribed. The 'type' sought was a person:

1. [capable of] sharing in youth work
2. [who had a] Bible based ministry
3. [who was a] Married man with children
4. [whose] Wife was a pianist
5. [had a] Missionary emphasis
6. Able to develop gifts in others
7. [who was an ordained] Baptist Minister
8. [who was a] Basic fundamentalist
9. Strong[87]

This, in fact, set in place the future ethos of the church. Coombs's successor was Roland Browning, then at Central Baptist in Invercargill. He fulfilled many of the above criteria, with a strong 'evangelistic and missionary emphasis', and was 'recognised as an evangelical fundamentalist'.[88] The vote for Browning was: 150 for, 2 against, and 1 abstention, which represented an overwhelming endorsement for the style of ministry he embodied. Browning was inducted on 4 February 1978.[89] In a statement that judiciously understated the tumult that had occurred, the writer of the Jubilee notes commented that, 'he [Browning] came to a people who had become a little unsettled under the long interim pastorate, and with characteristic vigour set about a ministry of reconciliation'.[90]

In the event, however, Browning's ministry at Opawa was short. He died prematurely on 29 September 1982, and significantly, his replacement, Brent Wood, was also said it be 'a particularly powerful expository preacher'.[91]

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[87] *Ibid.*, 8 December 1976.
[88] Church Minutes, 11 May 1977.
[89] *Ibid.*, 13 December 1977.
[90] *75th Jubilee*, p. 21.

6.2.3. A Reconstituted Church

On the occasion of the 62nd Annual Report in 1977, the Church Secretary commented in his opening remarks that the last year had been difficult with many people leaving, but also took this opportunity to reaffirm a more traditional approach to life and ministry that the parish would pursue in light of the recent past. He said that:

> ...there is no need for me to remind you that this has been a difficult year for us as a Church family. Many of our former members have decided to transfer to other churches as they seek to express their worship in other ways than we do, some are undecided as to whether they should go also, some would like to see radical changes in methods of worship, but it would seem that the majority of our members prefer to remain in the traditional pattern which we practise. No one has the right to dictate how or where another shall worship, and one of the most precious legacies of our Baptist heritage is the right of choice such as our brothers and sisters have exercised. Those who have left our membership have gone because they have chosen to do so. Nobody has been asked to go, and to all we extend a warm invitation to fellowship and worship with us whenever they would care to do so.[92]

Browning's appointment the following year strengthened the style of ministry highlighted in the secretary's comments. From 1978 Opawa Baptist returned to its traditional evangelical and missionary emphasis which effectively meant a rejection of the charismatic renewal—that style being offered elsewhere and the freedom of members to choose that if they wished, was respected. The church was to be reconstituted along historic Baptist lines. However attendances, membership and baptism numbers never fully recovered from the peaks achieved in 1975. The decision to revert to a traditional style of ministry may have provided a greater sense of security for those who remained after the split, but it did not equate with renewed growth emulating that which had occurred the previous decade. In 1976-77 alone, membership numbers fell from 417 to 341 (a drop of 18 percent).[93]

Debt was also a problem, mainly due to additional costs and refinements made to the new sanctuary. At 31 March 1978 the total stood at $66,502, but through

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[91] *Ibid.*
[92] Annual Report, 31 March 1977, p. 1.
[93] *Ibid.*

focused effort (including a proposal for members to give at least one week's income per year), this had fallen to $16,676 by March 1980.[94]

In November 1981 Browning reported on the 'spiritual condition of the church'. It was noted that:

> [We] can now see [the] Church [sic] on the verge of breakthrough. [There is a] need for self-examination and to set goals together; for much fellowship and corporate prayer, as well as a critical assessment as to whether some changes would be necessary.[95]

The 'breakthrough' referred to may have meant rebuilding the parish could now be attended to unhindered by the division of previous years, but there remained a tenuous sense of unity.[96]

By early 1982 there were optimistic signs of a reconstituted church with increasing attendances, but actual membership figures were not commensurate: between 1982 and 1985 the average combined attendance rose from 430 to 640, but membership fell from 340 to 315 across the same period.[97] This was in contrast to the early 1970s where membership figures had been relatively consistent with actual attendance rates. Despite the conflict generated by the renewal, and that surrounding Coombs's departure and return, the period 1970 to 1975 had seen the strongest numerical growth in the parish since 1960. The weakening of denominational ties accompanying the renewal may have created a more fluid sense of loyalty, while the split itself had demonstrated the willingness of many former members to 'vote with their feet'.

Despite relative stability in the early 1980s, leadership again became an issue at Opawa. Throughout his time at the church Browning had been both vice-president of the Baptist Union (since 1978) and president (since 1979).[98] This increased workload combined with the need to re-build the parish, adversely affected his health. Throughout 1982 this deteriorated and he died on 29 September. This created further insecurity and was deeply felt. But his

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[94] Church Minutes, 20 February 1978.
[95] Church Minutes, 11 November 1981.
[96] *Ibid.*, 10 June 1981.
[97] Annual Reports, 1982 to 1986.
[98] *75th Jubilee*, p. 20.

successor, Brent Wood, responded to the 'call' and was inducted relatively quickly, in February 1983.[99] He remained at the church for 12 years—a tenure comparable to that of Coombs.

6.3. Sydenham AOG

6.3.1. Origins and Development to 1975

The Sydenham Gospel Mission was founded after a period of evangelistic fervour surrounding the Christian Workers' Missions outreaches, the Torrey-Alexander mission (both in 1902) and the visit of Scottish preacher James Lyall in January 1903.[100] David Lanyon purchased the Loyal Volunteer Lodge at 395 Colombo Street and meetings commenced in August 1903. 'The ministry and witness to the community [Worsfold adds] was chiefly fundamental, the venue becoming a meeting place for many interested in the a more vital evangelistic message and deeper life teaching'.[101] The events of seventy years later gave these words a prophetic tone.

The visit of Yorkshire evangelist Smith Wigglesworth in May 1922 was decisive in the history of the Mission. At the conclusion of his Wellington meetings, Wigglesworth came to Christchurch and Sydenham Gospel Mission leader, Andrew Reid, sponsored the services.[102] The influence of traditional pentecostal themes had been evident since 1920, but response to the Wigglesworth meetings generated controversy in Christchurch (as elsewhere) mainly due to the evangelist's unusual and aggressive manner. One writer to the press hoped that 'the people of the Sydenham Mission, who have done very faithful work for the city in many ways, will be quick to dissociate themselves from these crude heresies'.[103]

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[99] *Ibid.*, p. 21. Wood resigned in 1997 and his successor, Alan Webster, was inducted on 14 February 1998. Two minor developments early in Wood's tenure were, a leaders' decision that seats in the sanctuary would be screwed down, Church Minutes, 18 April 1983, indicating a formal style of worship, and, a month later, a motion was carried severing any connections with the NCC and World Council. *Ibid.*, 23 May 1983.

[100] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements,* footnote, p. 115. The Mission predated the Azusa Street Revival of 1906 to 1913, the formation of the AOG in the United States (in 1914), and the establishment of the Assemblies in New Zealand in 1927.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

[102] *Loc. cit.*

[103] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements,* p. 118, citing *The Sun,* 19 June 1922.

The outcome however, was a desire on behalf of those who organised Wigglesworth's visit to invite him back (in 1923) and to continue the work of 'keeping the vision'. These visits, and the meetings with pioneering American Pentecostal A. C. Valdez in 1927,[104] marked the beginnings of the Assemblies in New Zealand and the formal linking of the Sydenham Gospel Mission with the AOG; 'It was through the wisdom and the ministry of [J. M. Roberts, an AOG minister from Melbourne] that the Assemblies of God in Christchurch amalgamated with the Sydenham Gospel Mission in their hall, becoming the Christchurch congregation of the Assemblies of God in N.Z. [sic], in December 1928'.[105]

The 1930s however, were 'difficult years with the numbers decreasing', but the ministry of T. H. Whiting from October 1949, proved fruitful with 'fresh evangelical ventures'.[106] The pastor whose tenure coincided with the beginnings of the charismatic renewal was Ralph Read who arrived from Victoria in January 1959. Read was active in promoting youth activities and outreaches in the early 1960s, and unlike those in other churches, was openly promoting pentecostal distinctives, including healing.[107]

Read has been described as a 'quiet man of deep conviction. He had a deep biblical knowledge and always backed-up what he said [in services] with Scripture'. The tone of services in the mid-1960s were said to be 'reverential, with solid teaching, and two or three people would speak in tongues. In evening services, there would be an altar call for salvation and also for Spirit baptism and healing'.[108] Much emphasis was placed on supporting overseas missions, and 'to some extent', local mission and outreach, as well as prayer for revival.

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[104] Valdez (1896-1988) attended Azusa Street meetings in the period 1906 to 1909.
[105] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements,* pp. 164-65.
[106] *Ibid.,* p. 213. Whiting left in November 1958 to be the church's full-time Home Missions Director based in Takapuna, North Shore, Auckland, p. 215.
[107] See for example, 'Christ Heals Today', a meeting at the Horticultural Hall, *The Press,* 27 February 1965, p. 26.
[108] Margaret Bijl, telephone interview, 2 May 2002. Bijl and husband Syd had come from the Reformed Church to Sydenham AOG in 1964. She described Read as 'thin, aesthetic and a person who lived frugally. He was very committed to ministry'.

The activity of established pentecostals such as Read predated the influence of the independents. Sydenham AOG's youth outreaches, films and crusades, did however, create an awareness and presence of pentecostal practices in the early 1960s. This was important preparatory work which Morrow in particular, would later extend through 'Adullam's Cave' and the Revival Fellowship. Significant though it was, there was no discernible intent to work with other churches. Certainly in Read's case, energies were divided between Sydenham and his role as General Superintendent of the AOG, a position he held since 1960.[109] The work at Sydenham appeared to be exclusive of others, both pentecostals and those in the historic churches. The ministry reflected the deep conviction and faithful work of Read, but it was also traditional and stolid in the distinctive polity and style that characterised the work of the Assemblies as a separate group of pentecostals. Like all AOG Assemblies, Sydenham's leaders operated autonomously but, unlike the independents, under the auspices of a national movement.

Read returned to Australia in December 1965 and his successor, Lloyd Averill, arrived at Sydenham immediately after, in January 1966.[110] Averill was an experienced AOG pastor and the beginning of his tenure coincided with extensive alterations to and modernising of the church complex. Of greater significance were his views on the role of the AOG, particularly in relation to other churches. Two years later he issued a paper to the national church advancing his view on the niche occupied by the Assemblies in New Zealand. He saw the denominational churches at the time as confused and the AOG, as a pentecostal church with its links to Valdez and the Azusa Street Revival, was the legitimate heir to the 'outpouring' of the early 1900s:

> "We therefore, as members of the Assemblies of God, wish to say that we do not profess to be the perfect body or the exclusive church, but that our movement is simply an attempt to emulate in some way the 'Churches of God' as seen in the New Testament. As we have been in operation for 40 years, having been brought into being through the Pentecostal out-pouring early this century, we now intend neither to withdraw, nor lose our identity in the Ecumenical Movement. Against a backdrop of strong secularism and confused denominationalism, we do intend however, to lovingly and loyally extend the Kingdom of God amongst men..."

[109] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 216.
[110] *Ibid.*

> "To this end, we should be careful not to be legalistic in any matter. It is the spirit that counts. Doctrine is supremely important, but ever watch for legalism and dogmatism which strains at a gnat and swallows a camel. Be sure that we have the spirit of the matter at top priority at all times...Unity must have a focal point and is of course, seen primarily and absolutely in the Lord Jesus Christ...Let our unity be firstly in Christ and then in the common organ of expression to which we subscribe, the Assemblies of God".[111]

What exactly was meant by 'confused denominationalism' was not clear. It may have referred to the work of the WCC (or the NCC)—both were considered by many pentecostals as extensions of 'Babylon' that had infected historic denominations generally—or perhaps, the 'neo-pentecostalism' that was then impacting those same churches. Either way, Averill reaffirmed what he considered the centrality of the AOG churches in fulfilling the Great Commission.

A member of the church in Averill's time, Margaret Bijl, describes him as 'more buoyant than Read and a hard worker'. Like Read, he continued to emphasise preaching and teaching and missions, but 'there was no connection with those from other churches, except the occasional visiting speaker'.[112] Also, 'some issues within the church [she adds] were not dealt with and a number of people just drifted away'.[113] However, there was during Averill's tenure, general stability and a continuation of the reliable ministry that had characterised the work of his predecessor.

As was the case at Opawa Baptist, wider social and religious change eventually encroached upon the ordered world of Sydenham AOG. In this particular church, the appointment of a new congregational leader was the trigger for significant change.

Pastor Dennis Barton, a Briton with wide experience in AOG churches[114] came to New Zealand in February 1967 to work in an Assembly at Tuakau in South Auckland. After four years there, he explains:

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[111] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 223.

[112] Bijl interview, 2 May 2002. One visitor was Frank Houston who was acting principal of the Christian Life Bible College at Lower Hutt from its inception in February 1967. At that time, Averill was a visiting tutor, as was David Edmonds.

[113] Bijl interview, 2 May 2002.

[114] Barton was converted at Belvedere, Kent in April 1950. He had a Church of England 'association' previously. 'Within a few months of conversion [he adds] 'I had a call from God to prepare for the ministry, and

> ...we were invited to come to Christchurch to assume the pastorate of the AOG in Sydenham, ...Something concerning the Sydenham AOG needs to be said; ...they were a very conservative church, rather legalistic people, but it was a church that had gone through some very difficult times, they had had a lot of problems and for many years they had been pastored by well-known Australian pastors, ...but we had a clear call from God to come to the church at that time.
>
> We took it over at a very awkward time; there were many problems that we had to combat, so much so that during the first three months of our time there, we were not even sure if we could stay...because there were many difficulties. We were at the point of thinking that we could not stay...the beginning of the Jesus Revolution, ...it would be May 1971...and the move of God seemed to come in the most remarkable way.[115]

Although this account emphasises spiritual dynamics, it is clear by any measure that Barton came to a difficult pastoral situation. There were 'moral problems' and a *de facto* authority of older members, some who had been in the church for several generations. Among these families were members who had connections with the original land deed, and a woman who had led Sunday School for over fifty years.[116] The radical pentecostalism of the Wigglesworth years had given way to an institutional pattern similar to that which pentecostals had observed in the historic churches and were critical of.

Barton's claim of 'legalism' is simplistic in relation to a church that knew its roots—as Averill was aware—but he (Barton) was correct in stating the period before his arrival was distinguished by its conservatism. The concerted prayer for 'revival' was to be answered, but the church had settled into a pattern of order, rather than maintain its radical origins with Azusa Street (the events there being anything but ordered). The culture of Sydenham AOG had assumed a regularity, but the influx of those from the 'hippie' culture, may, in actuality, have returned the church to a type of dynamic fundamentalism characteristic of the earlier pentecostals—this being one interpretation of what Averill had said to the national church in 1968.

I attended the AOG Bible College in Kenley, Surrey. At the end of 1952 we [he, and wife Barbara] pastored several AOG churches but always with the thought in mind that God wanted us to travel to the other side of the world, ...we arrived here in February 1967'. Interview with Dennis Barton, 6 October 1997.

[115] *Ibid.*

Had the people of Sydenham been more overtly aware of their heritage, they may have responded more enthusiastically to what happened. Both in America and New Zealand (including Christchurch with the Wigglesworth crusade) the AOG had a history of religious radicalism. But the depth of feeling and alienation experienced by those not directly involved in what happened at Sydenham reflected more on the culture of this particular Assembly than it did on the AOG as a wider group of churches. It was a paradox that a neo-pentecostal phenomenon with considerable momentum from *outside* the pentecostal (certainly the AOG) movement impacted as it did.

Barton explains what occurred as a large influx of new people began to appear in 1971-72:

> For several weeks we had had a number of 'hippies' coming into the church and found the Lord as their saviour. They came with a lot of problems, a lot of drug and occult problems and they were in rather a mess, but we did our best to help them. ...The move came to a small AOG church in Whangarei, at Queen Street [Auckland] and simultaneously to Sydenham...These were the only places where the 'hippie' move was taking place. The move really gathered momentum in Sydenham when one day we received a phone call. My wife Barbara took the call and there was the voice of a weedy young man who wanted help. She said to him "If you come along to the church tomorrow [Sunday] night, we will pray for you and we will help you." This man and his girlfriend were about seventeen...they were in a mess and greatly in need. We prayed for them and they were saved and delivered from demonic powers. They were also filled with the Holy Spirit. This is important because from that small beginning a tremendous work broke out, ...[117]

The young people referred to were Phillip Pringle and his girlfriend (later wife), Christine, along with a third individual, 'Wayne'. Barton believes these three were the core of the 'move' as it developed:

> Phil and Chris and Wayne were really the root that established itself in Sydenham. From their testimonies it snowballed; they contacted their friends, brought their friends along, and it snowballed beyond all our preconceived ideas of what could happen. They began to flock in, these 'hippies', people in their tens, twenties, their scores, their fifties, they came rolling in from all over the place. Week after week, day after day, right through the week we would lead scores and scores of these young 'hippies' to the Lord. And mighty miracles took place in their lives. They

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[116] Timothy Bijl, telephone interview, 6 May 2002. Bijl is the son of Margaret and Syd. He grew up in the church and later served as a missionary in Papua New Guinea. A builder, he was also involved in the later renovation of the Colombo Street complex and in preparing the Tuam Street site.

[117] Barton interview, 6 October 1997.

> were genuine conversions—some were more of the 'bikie' types—but within a few months, literally hundreds and hundreds of these young people came in and were converted and there were tremendous 'trophies of grace' in their lives.[118]

Barton embraced these people and encouraged them to express their faith as freely as possible. Of the 'hundreds and hundreds' he claims were affected, some demonstrated considerable ability. Phillip Pringle for example, displayed leadership potential and was quickly placed in roles of influence.[119] However some established members of the church were overwhelmed at the speed and scope of change. For his part, Barton claimed he 'was just trying not to get in the way', but others saw things differently. Margaret Bijl, for example, observed that:

> We were singing a lot more choruses and many of them were new. These would be sung over and over *ad nauseam.* Lots of young people came in and were praying for others. ...[T]he services went on and on for hours. They would start at 9.30 [a.m.]. and still be going well after 1 [p.m.]. It was hard for older people when this happened and even many of those who were younger and had grown up in the church...There were so many people turning up the Fire Department was worried about safety issues, ...[120]

A new culture had materialised rapidly without any 'lead-in' period or explanation. The new constituency was transient, young and altogether 'unchurched'.[121] There was also a sense that the needs of those not directly involved were being ignored, and this created tension with the leadership.

As it was in other churches affected by charismatic renewal in this period, awareness and knowledge of what was happening spread, and more people came, including other pentecostals, and those from historic churches, including Roman Catholics, as Barton explains:

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[118] *Ibid.*

[119] The Pringles are notable leaders to emerge from the church. They are currently pastoring at Christian City Church (CCC) in Oxford Falls, Sydney. They accompanied Barton when he left Sydenham and later established the Miracle Life Centre in Lyttelton before moving to Sydney in February 1980. CCC is a large network of churches throughout Australasia (see also Conclusion, p. 329). Pringle was not available to be interviewed.

[120] Bijl interview, 2 May 2002.

[121] That is, lacking any working knowledge of church structure, history and organisation. It also suggests a lack of financial support and commitment to membership. Ray Comfort adds: 'While there were genuine converts [there were] also masses of false converts who fell away from the faith and became bitter towards the things of God', e-mail communication, 7 January 2003.

> It became noised abroad what God was doing in Sydenham and people came from the other churches, too, to see what was happening. John Steele for example [later a Revival Fellowship pastor], was working with Open Air Campaigners at the time, and years later he told me that this was his real introduction to the charismatic move...those from mainline churches and the Roman Catholics came as well; Father Dennehy and Father Doyle are two names that come to mind. We would get scores and scores of Catholics and nuns, too, and the Lord did wonderful work in their lives.
>
> We were so involved, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, that we didn't have time to get involved with other people, churches and ministers outside of what we were doing. But I can't remember any negativity [from other churches], ...some were questioning and querying but they kept coming. The local Catholic cathedral put on a charismatic mass and we went along, it was beautiful! They were all dressed up in their regalia and that but they were just loving, caring brothers in Christ. We had our hugging sessions with the priests and sang all the charismatic choruses, and testimonies were given and the Word was given...it was wonderful. Many icons had been 'cleansed' by that time. ...
>
> The move did effect the culture of the city and news of what was happening found its way to Australia. AOG ministers mainly from the Newcastle area travelled over especially to hear and see what was happening. Clark Taylor from Brisbane was one person, but really they came from everywhere.
>
> As I said, Sydenham was a straight, pentecostal church it was very restricted; the services were conducted in the usual pentecostal ways [tongues, healing etcetera]. The style of service did not change but the 'hippies' were so hungry they soaked in any and everything going on. And they were like flies! They were everywhere and great witnesses. People were getting saved in the Square. Ray Comfort got saved and set up an off-shoot fellowship at New Brighton. The older people of the church had great difficulty with this—the 'hippies' had long hair, jeans and bare feet. [There were] around 250 people usually [but] in no time at all, we were getting chairs and forms out for every meeting; rows and rows of chairs, forms people crammed in everywhere. It was a real free-for-all. Crowds of 300-400 were common, but this meant ordinary members couldn't get 'their own' seats.[122]

To meet the needs of this new congregation, several communes ('about four or five') were established in the area, as well as a half-day Bible school in the church. When meetings were not taking place in the church, they were held in the communes. These Barton added, were 'in keeping with the times, especially the 'hippie' culture'.[123]

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[122] Barton interview, 6 October 1997.

[123] Margaret Bijl recalled 'Hebron House' in Stanmore Road. These were large flats of young people at a time when mixed flatting was not yet fully accepted. Understandably there were 'all sorts of characters' and 'a lack of internal discipline'. Bijl interview, 2 May 2002.

6.3.2. A Brief Encounter but Rich Legacy

The conflagration of spiritual fervour that occurred at Sydenham AOG after 1971 was a mix of circumstance, timing, a particular leadership style and a consequence of the wider developments within the charismatic renewal in Christchurch. A confluence of these factors irrevocably altered the church and set it in a new direction.

The Bartons'[124] greatest strength in attracting new people was also a weakness—the time and emphasis on discipling and nurturing those already in the church—declined. With notable exceptions, those drawn to their style of ministry were young, lacking financial and other commitments and ephemeral in their loyalties.

The large influx affected the ecclesiological order and discipline of the church and reflected the lack of structure distinguishing the new constituency itself. A perceived bias developed in favour of new converts. Margaret Bijl recalls, 'a young man, a drug addict from Australia, who had attempted suicide three times had crashed his car into a power pole outside the church. His girlfriend, a stable and established member of the church, was chastised by a bystander "Now look what you've done to him?" '[125]

Tension developed and by May 1973 when Barton's time for review arose, a split occurred. The AOG constitution required a majority of members to ratify the leadership with a clear (66 percent) majority, but ironically, a number of members had already left, leaving a depleted number eligible to vote.[126] As a result, Barton failed to gain the mandate required to remain at Sydenham, and left. He had however, been developing a semi-autonomous (certainly less formal) meeting at the Civic Theatre building in the evenings since June 1972 when this decision was made.

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[124] It is clear that the Bartons—Dennis and Barbara—were a team ministry, with both exerting a strong influence. This was received with mixed feelings at the time, and, with the exception of Anne Morrow, predated the wide acceptance of women's ministry, particularly in pentecostal circles.

[125] Bijl interview, 2 May 2002.

[126] Citing the 1958 Constitution, Worsfold explains further (p. 221): 'When an assembly is in need of a change of minister or the minister himself desires a change of pastorate the procedure is that both communicate with the General Executive Council who will seek to make the necessary recommendations, but the responsibility of making the appointment is that of the local church'. *A History of the Charismatic Movements.*

Established parishioners may have felt neglected, but for his part, Barton believed the church was not ready for the 'revival' that many had prayed for:

> ....None of [the events, he claims] were organised. It certainly didn't come to Sydenham to a church that was prepared. If ever a church, one might say, did not deserve revival—and none of us ever do deserve it—but they were not ready for it. They were full of schism and problems. We're talking about a church with roots back to Smith Wigglesworth's time.
>
> One might think, in theory, that if God is going to send revival, that it would happen in a church that was in the right place before God, they were full of anticipation; but it wasn't like that. ...The tragedy of Sydenham of course, was that the revival that should have continued, was aborted. By the end of 1972, many in the church didn't want revival.
>
> We were invited for a two-year term. That had come to an end then. The style in those days in many pentecostal churches was that people were elected to minister by the congregation, rather than the theocratic principle of a church oversight, although answerable to the Body of Christ, certainly, but having authority to function as the leaders of that church. Because of the way many were rejecting the move, we came to the end of our time there. We could not continue and the move of God was aborted. Many of the 'hippies' were devastated. We resigned in May 1973 and vacated the pastorate. When we left, the move stopped.[127]

Against this perspective, failure to secure the majority required to continue as pastor, seemed of little moment. Barton's departure created a vacuum of distrust and confusion for those who remained. For him, too, it was 'a difficult time as we earnestly sought God and believed we were to continue in the city'.

Barton's decision formalised the schism that characterised his tenure at Sydenham, but the tumultuous events of this period were greater than matters of individual style or personality. They clearly illustrate that Sydenham AOG had evolved an orthodox ecclesiology more akin to the historic churches—certain pentecostal distinctives notwithstanding—and Barton's openness was in fact, returning the church to its roots, but this had become awkward given the settled style that had evolved. The ordered approach of Ralph Read, for example, stood in direct contrast to that displayed by Barton.

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the changes brought about by the renewal created a religious context more supportive of the flexible and

[127] Barton interview, 6 October 1997.

innovative, than the ordered and traditional. The free expression of emotion, for example, cohered with both the 'hippie' culture and the general direction of the renewal. Barton's intuitive sense of how to respond meant he was able to continue and successfully establish a further work in the city. He immediately began meeting at the Caledonian Hall (in Kilmore Street) on Sunday evenings with three supporting meetings at other times.[128] Although not widely promoted, the new work was initially known as the 'Christchurch Full Gospel Fellowship' but by April 1977 had become the 'Family Centre' when the Crockford Bridge Club premises in Bealey Avenue were purchased.[129]

Barton recalls that 'we tried not to live in the past and very few 'hippies' from the old move initially came across', although the Pringles 'came after 12 months or so and became youth leaders and assistant pastors and many new 'hippies' were saved'.[130]

Meanwhile Sydenham, now minus a pastoral leader and with remaining parishioners feeling disoriented, tried to regroup. Margaret Bijl concedes, 'we reeled for a while', but a new pastor, David Brydges, was appointed in October 1973.[131] Brydges, she claims, was 'the prince of preachers, and he had a photographic memory. He not only preached well but could play the piano'. His assistant, Alan Boddy, a law graduate, was 'an ex-druggie with considerable charm' and it was, she adds, 'a stable period under these two'.[132]

As at Opawa Baptist, the split at Sydenham AOG created a de-stabilising legacy. Brydges's successor (after September 1979) was Trevor Woodhouse, an ex-Navy rating, originally from England. Sensing the need for the church to move ahead,

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[128] The other meetings were held on Wednesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays upstairs at a former nightclub, 'The Plainsman', in Lichfield Street.

[129] Barton's ministry in the city continues to the present day. In the mid-1980s additional space was needed and a new building erected in Springfield Road. The church is now known as Beulah Christian Fellowship.

[130] Barton interview, 6 October 1997.

[131] Brydges had been ministering in Oamaru prior to his appointment at Sydenham. The official welcome was held on 6 October 1973 at the church with Averill, then principal of the Christian Life Bible College in Lower Hutt, officiating. According to Margaret Bijl, Brydges is currently in Hong Kong. Bijl interview, 2 May 2002.

[132] Although Boddy had departed by December 1977. His academic credentials were rare, Bijl recalls, where 'the prevailing attitude was that education was a tool of the world...It was as though the Lord would return next week and why should you have a career, etc.? The level of education [at Sydenham under Barton] was low and the fact that anyone had passed SC [School Certificate] was amazing to such an extent you kept quiet about it', e-mail communication, 5 May 2002.

Woodhouse wanted to relocate closer to the city, despite $170,000 worth of renovations to the Colombo Street site during Brydges's tenure.[133] With 'a military air', Woodhouse was of the opinion 'let's get moving again'.[134]

This was an understandable position for a new pastor, but for those still coming to terms with the past, it was a difficult and uncertain time, especially in light of the expensive renovations. The former Odeon Theatre in Tuam Street was purchased and renovated over a period of three to four months in 1983. Compounding a sense of uncertainty was the fact that the purchase price was allegedly greater than that secured for the refurbished Colombo Street building.[135] A significant development in the leadership occurred after the move to Tuam Street. Being senior in the national church, Woodhouse was able to amend the constitution making it more difficult for local pastors to be voted out of office. This may have been a genuine, albeit, belated response to the problems of the Barton era, but against the background of the shift, was received by some as a further—and unacceptable—move towards entrenching pastoral authority.[136]

Both at the time and in retrospect, the years 1971-72 were watershed years for Sydenham AOG. The changes in this brief period irrevocably shaped its future, and, in fact, heralded its declension. It also however, birthed a significant new and enduring work through the ministry of Dennis Barton. Although he claims there was no deliberate effort on his part to recruit a new constituency from Sydenham, in reality, Barton's style continued to attract 'hippies' in large numbers. Part of the rich legacy observed elsewhere, is true also of Christchurch and the Sydenham AOG in particular. As Larry Eskridge noted of the California Jesus Movement:

> ...despite a paucity of publicity, the Jesus People long outlived the secular hippie counterculture that had spawned it. Indeed, the Jesus Person 'style' continued to prosper as a distinct evangelical youth culture with concerts, coffee houses, newspapers, bumper stickers, crosses, and Bible studies

[133] T. Bijl interview, 6 May 2002. The rear of the church was extensively modified.
[134] *Ibid.*
[135] Bijl cites the figures as $200,000 for the Tuam Street premises and $170,000 to $180,000 for the sale of the Sydenham facilities. Although these are unconfirmed sums, any difference would have created a shortfall, especially in light of the recent renovations. T. Bijl interview, 6 May 2002.
[136] *Ibid.*

> [were all] a ubiquitous feature of the evangelical landscape well into the late 1970s.[137]

In Christchurch, all these features were present but it was the growing influence of the charismatic renewal that provided the sustaining strength for the spiritual needs of this group, which found continued expression in coffee houses, communities, and of course, in Barton's ministry.

6.3.3. Comparisons

This examination of three churches illustrates the centrality of leadership as a factor in religious continuity and change. What was considered by advocates as 'progressive' in the two historic churches, was seen as largely disruptive in a traditional pentecostal setting. But in each case, leadership was pivotal.

Hornby Presbyterian under Munro reflected a traditional evangelicalism, while the same was true of Opawa Baptist under Coombs. As 1960s exemplars of 'successful' churches, Hornby and Opawa spun around the axis of their very prominent leaders. When however, the external forces of change encroached, the result was confusion and an inability to respond beyond reaction and suspicion. The type of pietistic evangelicalism that had sustained these churches for many decades was found wanting when the renewal materialised. In the case of Hornby, there was added confusion with the union and Geering debates, although in retrospect, the latter was inadvertently very useful in shaking the church out of what Yule referred to as its 'ghetto mentality'.

Although the context and evolution of Sydenham AOG as a pentecostal church was quite different, the dynamics were similar. Here too, was a church that developed its own tradition but was ill-equipped to respond to change. But again, leadership was critical—it is doubtful either Read or Averill would have embraced the 'hippies' quite as openly as Barton did.

A related factor was timing. The full force of the renewal was not felt at Hornby until Munro had left, while at Opawa, it is clear that Coombs's departure for

[137] Larry Eskridge, 'One Way'—Billy Graham, the Jesus Generation, and the Idea of an Evangelical Youth

Australia, was, in retrospect, ill-timed for a number of reasons.[138] While at Sydenham, it was propitious so far as the renewal was concerned that Barton arrived when he did. Also significant is the period *between* the departure and arrival of pastoral leaders; the interim periods at both Hornby and Opawa of necessity facilitated a more 'open pulpit' than would have otherwise have been the case. At Sydenham, Barton's rather hurried and messy exit created a crisis of direction that could not begin to be addressed until a new leader had arrived (Brydges), and even then, the task was a daunting one.

In each of the churches it was evident there was a critical mass that gathered and forced the leadership—whether it was responsive or not—to deal with the renewal. At Hornby there evolved a sympathetic (and later apologetic) critical mass led by Yule, while at Opawa, the issue came to a head when Coombs returned from Adelaide. However, it rapidly lost impetus. When Browning was appointed a traditional Baptist style was re-established. Nowhere was the critical mass more evident than at Sydenham—it was *the* defining element of change and all consuming. However, this groundswell in each parish, although context-specific, needed to exist for rejection, adaptation, or integration to occur. In a dialectic sense, the contestation of 'thesis' and 'antithesis' eventually resolved to some expression of 'synthesis' in each case.

It is worthwhile to consider what happened in these churches against the fifteen principles of 'How to Introduce Renewal Into the Local Church' put forward at the December 1977 CAM Summer School at Lincoln:

1. Pastor is key to parish renewal
2. Vision and Conviction
3. Form leaders' team
4. Plan ahead
5. Form parish house churches
6. Support and strengthen all existing services within the parish
7. Place the renewal at the heart of the pastoral plan
8. Give time for renewal

Culture'. *Church History,* Vol. 67, No. 1, March 1998, p. 104.

[138] These being the near completion of the new sanctuary, the growth in all areas, especially youth work, the emerging problems regarding the renewal, and Lois Coombs's indifferent health.

9. Specific teaching and resources in the early stages (e.g. Life in Spirit Seminars)
10. Teaching and preaching
11. Use communication
12. Concentrate on internal spiritual renewal
13. Go slow on new forms of worship, explain why...
14. Don't copy other renewed churches
15. Ask for outside help.[139]

It is clear that Hornby under Yule's leadership attended to most of these suggestions (1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 and 15) and because of this, led the church into adopting a full evangelical—charismatic ethos. In rejecting the renewal at the critical moments of Coombs's return and Browning's appointment, Opawa elected not to adopt aspects of renewal, but ironically, many had been occurring anyway prior to the 1976 split. And Barton instinctively embodied a number of these principles (1, 2, 5, 7, 12 and 14), but lacked sensitivity to and awareness of the established constituency which was necessary to bring more of them with him.

This illustrates that understanding a phenomenon as complex and multi-faceted as the charismatic renewal cannot be reduced to prescriptive paradigms or models. Contingency variables intimately linked to the life and history of each parish or congregation were vital in the embracing or rejection of renewal.

Summary

An examination of three churches demonstrates the difference between the 'theory' of renewal advocates and the reality of what was actually entailed at the parish level.

The experience at Hornby Presbyterian, Opawa Baptist and Sydenham AOG highlights the points made by R. A. Knox concerning the inherent problems of religious enthusiasm, namely its hyper-spirituality and the related tendency towards schism. The Sydenham story also illustrates the pervasive reach of the

[139] Notes on CAM Lincoln Summer School, 27 to 31 December 1977, CAM records.

Christchurch renewal in affecting a pentecostal church that had drifted from its own history of 'radicalism' and into a more complacent and institutional form.

What occurred in these churches also shows the non-prescriptive nature of renewal as a finely-nuanced and dialectical phenomenon. Getting renewal into the church setting was a battle for those desiring its influence, and invariably it was resisted—although the degree of resistance was dependent on a range of local, historical, and in the case of Hornby Presbyterian and Opawa Baptist, contingent variables as well; including the Geering controversy, and Coombs's return (respectively).

The influence of overseas and visiting speakers was an obvious catalyst for change as well as a source of encouragement for those advocating renewal, but leadership was more decisive in determining whether or not a local parish embraced charismatic renewal. Hornby Presbyterian may well have remained ambivalent and through continued attrition to other churches at each end of the 'spectrum' (that is, Reformed and pentecostal), continued to have lost members, had Yule not experienced his own Spirit baptism. The result may have been similar to Opawa Baptist when Browning was appointed, when the change of leadership prompted a return to a traditional form of ecclesiology. Certainly, as Barton's presence suggests in even more clear relief, leadership was perhaps, *the* most significant variable of all in renewal.

In the overall Christchurch scene however, the role of visiting speakers, particularly the reputable persons from overseas, played a very important role in facilitating the high level of unity that characterised the renewal in the mid-1970s and it is to this dimension the analysis now turns.

Chapter 7

'A widespread hunger for God'[1] - Conferences, Teachers and Visiting Speakers

This chapter explores the role that conferences, teachers and visiting speakers played in the development of the charismatic renewal in Christchurch up to 1977. Visits from persons outside the city (often overseas 'experts'), and the conferences, teaching seminars and ministry sessions they conducted were a primary source of input. As an enthusiastic religious movement, the Christchurch (and New Zealand) renewal was not self-sufficient and had to draw on these resources to reinforce and inspire local efforts, particularly in the formative years.

The input spanned a range of topics including the 'how to's of parish renewal, didactic approaches to ministering in the gifts, basic matters such as how to share a testimony, through to speculation about 'the deeper things of the Spirit'. This new demand was a *raison d'être* for CAM which, it will be recalled, was committed to the full appropriation of the Holy Spirit, enriching worship, revitalising witness and deepening fellowship in love.[2] These broad goals were to be facilitated primarily through 'sound biblical teaching'.[3]

There were other aspects to the newly discovered need for teaching. The first was an urgency. The pre-occupation with youth and the spectre of war in the 1960s interpreted within a premillennial framework led many evangelicals and charismatics to believe that these were 'the Last Days'. Secondly (and it is a related issue), the renewal was not a monolith; it was a series of movements in transition, and the essence of its excitability was an adaptation which occurred, perhaps more regularly, within a culture marked by uncertainty. There were many rival strands to the renewal and its interpretation, and teaching was the means to lead people to adopt particular understandings. Although in more recent years it has been devalued, this was an era when teaching was

[1] This was Michael Harper's assessment of the Christchurch scene in November 1967. See 7.1.2, p. 238.
[2] From a flier 'Coming Events 1976', CAM records.
[3] *Ibid.*

considered very important—it was the key to interpreting charismatic experience.

The international character of the renewal did not diminish the importance of local variables in shaping what beliefs and manifestations were emphasised in Christchurch. The visitors were certainly part of the overall dynamics, but excesses were mostly contained in the interests of preserving unity. Through the firm and committed leadership shown in Christchurch, an overarching unity was largely maintained—to have compromised this by promoting excess (in 'healing' or 'deliverance', for example) would have risked a great deal in the early 1970s, not the least of which were the 'gains' made in successfully integrating renewal into parishes.

While unity was the principal motif of the local renewal, there were great divergences between the 'experts'. These did not become clear until events such as the discipleship controversy and the break-up of the Temple Trust in Australia (1979) and the Fountain Trust in Britain (1980). Local harmonies tended to override controversies and tensions elsewhere, although not indefinitely so.[4]

Changes in the teaching emphases suggest three phases of renewal across the period 1964 to 1977. These will be identified and explained in the final section of this chapter.

7.1. A Developing Niche

7.1.1. The Role and Value of Teaching

David Middlemiss traces the broad outlines and teaching emphases characterising the international renewal from its early years through to the early 1980s:

> ...There are numerous forms of 'teachings', which come and go, often associated with strong 'charismatic' figures. Initially charismatic experience took the form of Pentecostalism. This moved on to 'Neo-Pentecostalism' and developed from there, with leaders coming into

[4] See 8.1- 8.2, pp. 270-301.

> fashion for a few years and then fading in influence. The idea of 'authority' with elders and apostles became an issue for a while as a result of the modern house church movement. Healing remains central, and yet takes on differing approaches. Initially there were Pentecostal healing crusades, then neo-Pentecostal crusades. 'Praising God for all things' was a subsequent idea, then 'healing of memories' came along, to be swamped by the popularity of [John] Wimber's theology.[5]

While not all of these aspects were prominent in Christchurch, Middlemiss captures the importance of teaching and teachers to the dynamic evolution of renewal. In many ways, the changes paralleled wider cultural shifts, but the more central reason for this 'restlessness' and need for new direction lay in what he goes on to describe; 'the existential nature of the charismatic movement means that its theology is continuously developing in the light of experience'.[6] Experience, then, opens up 'scope for endless reinterpretation' and results in a 'chameleon-like ability to adapt to different backgrounds'.[7]

This was certainly the case with early charismatics. The radical nature of renewal was very foreign to traditional ecclesiology. The task then, was to reinterpret the Scriptures highlighting what had been obscured, misconceived, or lost. Above all, there was a newly realised duty to teach and instruct.

The epistemological framework for renewal was a mixture of experience and fideism.[8] It did not seem to admit of the usual empirical or rational presuppositions to determine truth or falsity; it was always experience interpreted. The usual evidence of this was tongues, so the need for instruction and clarity in that area was most obvious.

An early but influential apologist for the renewal was American journalist and Episcopalian, John Sherrill. In his book *They Speak With Other Tongues* in 1964, Sherrill reminded readers that the apostle Paul had 'set down explicit instructions on how [tongues] were to be used, where, by whom and for what

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[5] Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience*, p. 58. Authority issues referred to the discipleship controversy associated with the so-called 'Fort Lauderdale Five' of Christian Growth Ministries who were propagating a government of delegated authority and covenant loyalty in response to nomadic charismatics free from any system of accountability. See 8.1.1, pp. 270-72.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 59.
[7] *Loc. cit.*

purpose, instructions that all of us...would do well to re-read from time to time'.[9] He correctly perceived tongues as 'the stumbling block',[10] but like the other gifts, were a tool to help believers live and witness in demanding times. The Catholic writer Steve Clark extended these sentiments to all 'sign' gifts when he said: 'God's power is needed desperately. It would not make sense for a carpenter to forego a hammer and try to use his fist, or for a writer to forego a pen or a typewriter. They know that they need them [gifts] for effectiveness in their work. And we need the spiritual gifts, because we need the fullness of God's working among us, the fullness of the power he will put at our disposal'.[11]

While Spirit baptism and tongues may have been 'supernatural' events in the life of believers, growth was a function of spiritual discipline, fellowship and *teaching.* Sherrill added that, 'the Baptism in the Holy Spirit is the open door to new life, but not the new life wrapped up and delivered'.[12]

The early renewal was sustained by a flood of literature, including foundational works such as Sherrill's book, and David Wilkerson's *The Cross and the Switchblade,* which has been credited as 'the key in creating a hunger for a personal encounter with the Holy Spirit'.[13] Given the common and potential problems with the gifts, especially tongues, this literary growth, including periodicals, was accompanied by a virtually insatiable demand for speaking tours, seminars and conferences by leading international speakers in the early and mid-1960s.[14]

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[8] This is where essential doctrines cannot be established by rational means but must be accepted as an act of faith. The emphasis on experience meant little desire to support what had happened with logical argument in any rigorous epistemological sense.

[9] John Sherrill, *They Speak With Other Tongues* (Kent: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965), pp. 155-57. Significantly, Sherrill was also co-author of *The Cross and the Switchblade.*

[10] *Ibid.,* p. 158.

[11] Steve Clark, *Baptized in the Spirit and Spiritual Gifts* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Servant Books, 1976), pp. 136-37. This was first published in 1969.

[12] Sherrill, *They Speak With Other Tongues,* p. 157.

[13] Burgess et al., p. 885. This was certainly true for David Balfour: 'This book' [he claims] 'completely shattered me for when I examined David Wilkerson's ministry, as portrayed in this book, and when I placed it alongside mine there was practically no similarity...his ministry appeared to me to be the nearest thing I had come across that even remotely resembled the ministries of the early church...' *Logos,* Vol. 1, No. 1, August 1966, p. 7.

[14] Among the periodicals read in New Zealand in the late 1960s were: *Renewal,* first published by the Fountain Trust in January 1966; *Trinity,* 'a sixty page glossy Episcopalian magazine' (*op. cit., Logos,* p. 12); *New Wine,*

The first major New Zealand conference, however, was a more local affair. 'The Building of a Spirit-Filled Church' at Massey University in August 1964 brought together leading charismatics, but the keynote speakers Arthur Wallis and Campbell McAlpine, were both very familiar with New Zealand having been here for some time and ministered in churches and camps and with their 'Tell New Zealand' crusade in the early sixties. McAlpine had specially returned from England to participate. He spoke on 'Holiness and Evangelism', while Wallis gave the opening address and later spoke on 'Evangelism and Intercessory Prayer'.[15] The clear intent was not to create a new or supra-denominational church but to feed the 'hungry-hearted, dissatisfied people from their churches, assemblies and fellowships with a common desire for the new thing that God is wanting to do'.[16]

This expressed aim, it will be noted, was very similar to the 'vision' Morrow received for the work in Christchurch. As Anne Morrow recalls, 'for Peter, the Church was bigger than the denomination and he felt why start another church?'[17] As with those at the conference, Morrow instinctively encouraged the renewal *within* the historic churches, and that his activities were beginning to have this effect in Christchurch about the time of the 1964 conference was significant.[18] The 1964 conference reinforced what was beginning to happen in the city but it also stimulated interest and inspired confidence in the national renewal.

The need to report these activities and provide a vehicle for teaching and testimonies led to the publication of *Logos*.[19] In the first issue, David Edmonds

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an American magazine produced by Christian Growth Ministries and first published in 1969, and the Catholic magazine, *New Covenant,* which also began publication in 1969. There was also a demand for renewal music.

[15] Bolitho, 'In This World', p. 110.

[16] *Ibid.*, citing the report "...I will build my church..." Massey Conference Report, 1964, p. 2.

[17] Morrow interview, 12 March 2001.

[18] It is probable Morrow had read *They Speak With Other Tongues.* Irrespective of this, Sherrill describes the easy relationship between pentecostals and charismatics that was in effect, already occurring in Christchurch: 'The whole point is to suggest that Pentecostals can be integrated into the real work and needs of any church...The Pentecostal has discovered in his free, Spirit-led worship something of infinite value, and all the Spirit-filled people I know who have stayed in their old denominations, also meet regularly outside them—on Wednesday nights or Saturday mornings [Thursday evenings at the Revival Fellowship by 1967] or only once a month—for this kind of service from which they draw such strength'. p. 160.

[19] While not stated, it would appear that *Logos* was strongly influenced by the English bi-monthly *Renewal* which began publication in early 1966.

stated that it was to be a vehicle for teaching and the sharing of testimonies. But, not surprisingly in the light of Sherrill's comments and what had happened to Wallis and McAlpine amongst some in the Brethren assemblies, the first need was to address misconception and fear:

> ...with the launching of LOGOS [sic] we give witness to the work of Jesus Christ our Lord as He is giving this great blessing of the Holy Spirit power to His people.
>
> Many have been afraid of references to the Holy Spirit and the Pentecostal emphasis because of a variety of ideas associated with these words. We thank God today that many Church people are breaking free from these misconceptions about a Pentecostal experience and are investigating for themselves what the Scriptures have to say about it. ...
>
> Some refer to this new movement as the Charismatic Revival, and the term suggests new manifestations of God's grace through the power of the Holy Spirit. There is a very definite revival taking place in New Zealand at this time and we pray that Church members and leaders will be alert to the movement of God to radically change lives and to receive the spiritual devotion of Christians. LOGOS will endeavour to share with you the fact that ministers of the various churches, leaders in local congregations as well as countless numbers of members are entering into this deep and enriching experience of the Baptism in the Holy Spirit.[20]

Investigating the Scriptures was the key to overcoming these fears and of learning more about the Spirit. As a result of the 1964 conference and the early work in Palmerston North and Christchurch, and now with *Logos*, the national renewal became co-ordinated and the need for leadership, teaching and the input from visiting speakers, more evident. 'Experts' then became a firm feature of the charismatic landscape.

7.1.2. Two Early Teachers

Once established the renewal spawned numerous international writers and teachers. Prominent were Derek Prince and Michael Harper, both of whom visited New Zealand in the late 1960s. Their writings provide a sample of the vast array of teaching material available in this period and give some insight into the direction of the early renewal. Prince's Foundation Series published in 1965-66 was among the first attempts to lay a systematic theological and practical basis

[20] *Logos,* Vol. 1, No. 1, August 1966, p. 1.

for the renewal, although the stated aim was to take 'the whole truth to the whole church'.

Prince, an ex-British army soldier was also a Cambridge-educated philosopher.[21] The seven booklets of the Foundation Series were used extensively in New Zealand, as elsewhere, and subsequently published in several languages. As a philosopher and former atheist, Prince adopted a logical and un-emotional approach to his writing. His study in Israel added a dual restorationist character—the restoration of the Church as evidenced in the post-1945 period in the new evangelicalism, pentecostal developments and the charismatic renewal, paralleled the beginning of a restoration of God's ancient people with the formation of the state of Israel in 1948. This gave Prince's material an eschatological character emphasising the 'prophetic', and a chronological understanding of the Church and Israel.[22] The logic was inductive in that particular Scriptures could be *applied directly* to the general life of modern believers.

The basic text for the Foundation Series was Hebrews 6 verses 1 to 3 which exhorts Jewish and Gentile Christians to progress in the faith towards maturity, beginning with a 'proper' New Testament understanding of repentance through to eternal judgement.[23] Significantly, this passage makes reference to 'instruction about baptisms', and 'the laying on of hands', both associated with pentecostal and charismatic practice. In the preface of these booklets it was stated that:

> The Study Hour seeks to present in a clear, systematic way the great basic truths of the Bible, without bias, and without compromise. It seeks to serve every section of the Christian Church, without reference to denominational titles or affiliations. For this reason, the Study Hour is

[21] Prince held B.A. and M.A. degrees from King's College, Cambridge, and as a Fellow of that college, held a position equivalent to that of a lecturer. The Foundation Series, however, was published in America where a Fellowship was equivalent to a professorial position.

[22] The Jews, however, without Christ will, according to Prince, continue in disobedience and judgement. In a later booklet he said: 'Yet we know that Israel, as a nation rejected Jesus and the covenant which he offered them, and that they have persisted in this rejection up to the present time. ...Is it not clear that the rejection of Jesus is the cause of God's judgements upon Israel from that day to this?' *Three Messages for Israel* (Fort Lauderdale: Derek Prince Publications, 1969), p. 49.

[23] *Resurrection of the Dead,* Book VI, p. 17. The Scriptures read: 'Therefore let us leave the elementary teachings about Christ and go on to maturity, not laying again the foundation of repentance from acts that lead to death and of faith in God, instruction about baptisms, the laying on of hands, the resurrection of the dead, and eternal judgement. And God permitting, we will do so'.

> undenominational in its whole approach and program. It is a faith project, not dependent upon any single group or denomination.[24]

Elsewhere it was said these booklets unfolded 'in their logical order the great basic doctrines of the Christian faith, with special emphasis on the Holy Spirit'.[25] Despite the appearance of total objectivity and a 'neutral' hermeneutical method, the Foundation Series, and the *Self-Study Bible Course*, which also first appeared in 1965, incorporated the *charismata* into a contextual understanding of Scripture.

The 'special emphasis on the Holy Spirit' was a key to the 'strong meat'[26] of growth. 'I firmly believe', Prince adds, 'in the scriptural manifestation in these days of all nine gifts of the Holy Spirit; I believe that God speaks to His believing people through prophecies, visions, dreams, and other forms of supernatural revelation'.[27] These beliefs invigorated the 'ordinary' Christian life, but only when accompanied by regular Bible study:

> What a picture of a great mass of professing Christians and church members today! They have owned a Bible and attended church for many years. Yet how little they know of what the Bible teaches! How weak and immature they are in their own spiritual experience; how little able to counsel a sinner or instruct a new convert! After so many years, still spiritual babes, unable to digest any kind of teaching that goes beyond milk! However, it is not necessary to remain in this condition. The writer of the Hebrews tells us the remedy. It is to "have our senses exercised by reason of use", that is, to develop our spiritual faculties by regular systematic study of the whole of God's Word.[28]

In *Purposes of Pentecost* a connection is forged between baptism in the Spirit and the essence of New Testament Christianity:

> In how many churches today would we find occasion to use the phrase—"miracles of a kind that do not happen every day"? In how many churches today do miracles ever happen—let alone, happen every day? The truth is that, where we do not see and experience the supernatural, we have no right to speak of New Testament Christianity. New Testament Christianity can never be separated from the supernatural, or experienced in isolation from it. These two things—the supernatural, and New Testament Christianity—are inseparably interwoven. Without the supernatural, we may have New Testament doctrine, not experience. Such doctrine divorced

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[24] *Foundation for Faith,* Book I, Preface, p. 5.
[25] *Ibid.*, rear cover.
[26] *Foundation for Faith,* Book I, p. 42.
[27] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[28] *Foundation for Faith,* Book I, p. 43.

> from supernatural experience, is of the kind described by Paul in Second Corinthians chapter 3, verse 6: "the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." It is the Holy Spirit and He alone, who can give life to the letter of New Testament doctrine, and can make that doctrine a living, personal, supernatural way of life for each believer. One main purpose of the baptism in the Holy Spirit is to do just this.[29]

Although highly controversial for those holding traditional, sacramental or covenantal beliefs, this was becoming dogma among those advocating and experiencing Spirit baptism and tongues.

Several features of Prince's ministry assisted the renewal. By 1968 he had lived and ministered in England, Israel, Kenya, Canada and the United States, and his church links included Anglicanism and various pentecostal groups. And there was a firm New Zealand connection as well; Prince visited Tauranga in December 1967. His second wife Ruth recalled that 'that same year [1967-68] in New Zealand, Derek saw for the first time that his teaching could impact an entire nation...those meetings launched an inter-denominational ministry which has touched almost every part of the globe'.[30]

Prince also ministered in Christchurch in the winter of 1968 and stayed with Owen and Muriel Woodfield, then still at St. John's Methodist Church, Bryndwr. He conducted a series of meetings at the Revival Fellowship on the 'demonic', and enjoyed a good rapport with Morrow.[31] Through Woodfield's connections with Leeston and the Presbyterian minister there, Andrew Cowie, John and Jan Boyce 'had a personal appointment with Derek and Lydia for prayer'.[32] This sort of personal contact and ministry did much to stimulate interest in teaching resources.

Another feature of Prince's ministry was, in appearance at least, its inter-denominationalism. A person of his stature and experience promoting in-depth teaching (ostensibly) serving the entire Church added credibility; he was also tertiary-trained and employed a deliberate and logical approach. For critics he

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[29] *Purposes of Pentecost*, Book IV, p. 31.
[30] Derek Prince, *The Spirit-Filled Believer's Handbook* (Florida: Creation House, 1995), this is from the Foreword by Ruth Prince, p. 18.
[31] Owen Woodfield, telephone interview, 21 January 2003. This was corroborated by others who attended the Revival Fellowship.
[32] John Boyce, telephone interview, 21 January 2003.

represented the antithesis of an out-of-control 'raving pentecostal'. Moreover, the didactic approach was a consistent feature of the Christchurch renewal. Many of its leaders replicated the logical style first outlined in the Foundation Series and the booklets themselves, were widely respected and promoted.

A further very influential teacher was English charismatic, Michael Harper. He had much in common with Prince including study at Cambridge, links with the Anglican Church, and a prolific writing and publishing ministry.[33] He was also very significant in the New Zealand renewal, although his teaching was (comparatively) not as systematic. As the first full-time secretary with the Fountain Trust from July 1964, he was also more strategically focused on the charismatic renewal, rather than both the renewal and pentecostalism, as was Prince.

Harper's talent for popular presentation, exhortation and communication was coupled with an organisational ability and vast network of contacts through the Fountain Trust. As seemed fitting for early charismatic groups, the Trust 'had neither members nor branches, but utilized conferences, meetings for praise and teaching, tapes and (initially) [sic] books to spread its work'.[34] This relationship-centred organisation helped build ecumenical links, while its journal (*Renewal*), and the personal energy of Harper were also instrumental in assisting the New Zealand renewal. *Logos*, CAM and the work of Ray Muller were patterned on the Fountain Trust, as was the emphasis on publications, conferences and tapes, rather than formalised structures: 'The Fountain Trust model of an agency serving renewal across the churches influenced other Commonwealth countries, and similar agencies were set up in Australia [the Temple Trust] and New Zealand [CAM]'.[35]

Harper's influence can be gauged from his articles, books and tape material cited in *Logos.* He appears in most issues up to 1969 and was freely quoted by other

[33] Harper held a second-class honours degree in law and theology and trained for the ministry at Ridley Hall, Cambridge. He was ordained in 1955 and worked with John Scott at All Soul's, London, from 1958 to 1962. By 1968 Harper had published four books: *Prophecy, Power for the Body of Christ* (both in 1964), *As at the Beginning* (1965), and *Walk in the Spirit* (1968). He toured the United States in 1965 before his visit to Australia and New Zealand in 1967.
[34] Burgess et al., *Dictionary,* p. 314.
[35] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

writers,[36] while his visit to New Zealand in 1967 was also widely promoted and reported. The main theme in Harper's early writings was Spirit baptism and its strategic importance for modern believers. Recapturing the energy and efficacy of the early Christians (primitivism) was a recurring topic. This need, he argued, was acutely felt, even in churches employing 'modern evangelism' and 'up-to-date techniques'. The new evangelicalism was not enough:

> The Acts of the Apostles makes embarrassing reading today [1968], if we are right in believing that our churches should bear some resemblance to those early ones. The Church expanded in those days with a rapidity which shames most modern evangelism, in spite of all its up-to-date techniques and novel media for mass communication. ...The early Christians healed the sick and cast out evil spirits as an integral part of the Gospel of the Kingdom. In this they were following the example of their Master. It was more than a "battle for the mind", but a conflict involving the whole personality.
>
> Thank God, we are seeing in our day the renewal of spiritual power in the lives of many Christians. It is springing form the recognition by many that we do not know the Holy Spirit as we should, and that it is possible, indeed imperative, to be filled with the Holy Spirit, and led by Him as the early Christians were. We do need a breath of fresh air, and as God sends it, so it will blow away many ecclesiastical cobwebs.[37]

Harper's material in *Logos* began with a two-part testimony focusing on his Spirit baptism in 1962 and subsequent developments. 'We are seeing [he concluded] churches come alive, and begin to move in the power of the Holy Spirit. "Hopeless" cases become "hopeful"; there has been liberty in preaching and wisdom in counselling; but most of all the deeper love and fellowship we have had with God and His people'.[38] For the early New Zealand charismatics these were powerful words of encouragement. In Christchurch too, they had embodiment in the work of *Logos,* the impact of 'Adullam's Cave' and the growing need for dialogue between pentecostals, charismatics and even the NCC at a time when the union debate was again prominent.[39]

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[36] His influence appears to have vanished by 1970. By this time *Logos* was being published in Sydney.
[37] Michael Harper, *Walk in the Spirit* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1968), pp. 9-10.
[38] *Logos,* Vol. 1, No. 2, November 1966, p. 7.
[39] Worsfold adds: 'With the interest increasing in the charismatic phenomena in the churches, the time for dialogue had arrived. After preliminary talks between the author and the Revd. D. M. Taylor, M.A., B.D., representatives of the NCC and the NZPF met at Aldersgate, Christchurch on the 27th December 1967'. Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 318. Most denominations including Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Congregational, Salvation Army and Anglican were represented, as were pentecostals: Apostolic, AOG, and Elim, although the independents were absent, presumably because they were excluded from the NZPF when it was formed in 1966. According to Brett Knowles, this was 'more organisational than

Harper and his wife Jeanne were in Christchurch for six days in August and September 1967. The theme in New Zealand was 'Power for the Renewal of the Church'.[40] This was a 'teaching mission' and the Harpers spoke to 'conferences and seminars of clergy and ministers and congregations of all denominations on the work of the Holy Spirit'.[41] In Christchurch the subjects ranged from 'How to receive the Baptism in the Spirit', through to aspects of 'The Ministry of Deliverance' and studies in 1 Corinthians 12 and 13.[42] The talks were favourably received:

> Our visit [Harper recalls] was well prepared and organised and most of the meetings were well attended. There is a widespread hunger for God—His Word and Spirit—and a real renewal is taking place in the historic churches. Some people travelled long distances to attend, and there has been a good response.[43]

David Balfour added that 'many folk have benefited spiritually as they shared in these meetings together with others who were ministered to individually'.[44] Like Prince, the prayer for individual needs added a further and very personal dimension to the teaching sessions. Clearly, however, the time with the Harpers was considered inadequate. Despite spending longer in Christchurch than elsewhere, Balfour reported: 'We wish that such visits of overseas ministries were not so rushed as there is then limited opportunity for wide sharing and little freedom of programme'.[45]

International speakers were a catalyst for continued study and ministry. As with coffee houses, charismatic 'home groups' began in the 1960s but flourished in the 1970s. Both fitted with the increasing informality and freer expression of the period, as well as, in the case of the home group, a style of ministry suited to the growing popularity of renewal. The home group provided a setting for both 'theory and practice' and a relaxed ambience for experimentation in aspects

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personal'. See 'Some Aspects', p. 231. Either way, the exclusion of the independents in Christchurch was deeply ironic.

[40] *Logos,* Vol. 2, No. 1, August 1967, p. 19.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] *Logos,* Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1967, p. 10.

[43] *Ibid.,* p. 9.

[44] *Logos,* Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1967, p. 10.

[45] *Ibid.*

considered too contentious in the congregational setting; namely, 'prophecy', 'word of knowledge' and 'deliverance'.

An account of a home group in Redcliffs was provided in *Logos* at the time of Harper's visit. While no direct connection is made with his material, it is clear that tapes of eminent speakers were used for teaching purposes, and this it will be recalled, was a service provided by the 'Christian Advance Tape Library' who listed among their resources tapes by both Prince and Harper. Presented as a 'testimony', the writer, 'G.W.L', shared that:

> For nearly 18 months I have been privileged to share in a weekly house meeting at which the attendance varies but averages about 15-20. Its members come from all walks of life and represent most protestant denominations including several pentecostal assemblies. The members come to this meeting for fellowship and teaching but it does not affect their allegiance to a particular parish. We realise the dangers but it does seem to be the Lord's will that we continue to meet—at least for the present.
>
> Over the period of its existence the pattern of the evening has remained basically the same. Praise, prayer, ministry to the body and teaching, together with times of sharing. Care is taken to maintain a balance without hampering the moving of the Spirit. We are particularly fortunate to have the teaching taken by a trained teacher; variety is given by the use of tapes and records. Visiting pastors and ministers have each made their particular contribution.
>
> It is thrilling to see the various ministries being exercised and to share in the manifestations of the Spirit. It is a privilege to share with a member giving their first prophecy; to witness how a world of knowledge can lead to a transformed life; to share in thanksgiving for a healing to body or soul; to see the deliverance ministry setting a person free from the bondage of Satan.
>
> There are few nights when we do not have a visitor, either from another group in the city or from other parts of the country. ...[46]

On the eastern outskirts of the city at Leeston, similar things were happening. Owen Woodfield had ministered there in the 1950s and maintained ministry contacts in the area after shifting into Christchurch (to Bryndwr Methodist parish). This ensured that Methodists and Presbyterians were kept informed of charismatic developments, and the Presbyerian minister, Andrew Cowie, was

[46] *Logos*, Vol. 2, No. 1, August 1967, pp. 13-14. This was held at the Cowey's home in Redcliffs. The signatory to this passage ('G.W.L') was George Lucking who was associated with the Revival Fellowship at the time. Jocelyn Cowey, telephone interview, 28 January 2003.

'very involved in Peter's [Morrow's] ministry and supportive of the renewal'.[47] There were stirrings of change in a home group which met weekly at the Presbyterian Manse. Wilkerson's book apparently stimulated much interest to get the group started: '*The Cross and the Switchblade* was the most read book in the country and everyone read the Acts of the Apostles in a new light'.[48] As was often the case, this led to an increased need for teaching material and a desire to move forward:

> There is a hunger for more of God's Word [the writer continues], and a new awareness of the magnitude of what happened at Calvary. It is patently obvious as we look back that each one of us who has reached out, however hesitantly, has been met by God and it shows in our lives. It is more obvious in some than in others but not one of us is the same as we were before this work began in us, and not one of us desires to return to the old life...Whatever mistakes have been made, whatever doubts and queries have arisen, none of us doubts that the Spirit has been gently leading us.[49]

The visiting teachers met needs but also created new ones. As this writer asked, 'That was over a year ago. What of now?' The urge to move on was a dynamic aspect of the renewal that fuelled an almost insatiable desire for more teaching.

7.1.3. Morrow and Christian Advance Ministries

By the mid-1970s the 'two main bodies bringing overseas teachers to Christchurch were the Revival Fellowship and CAM. Those invited by Morrow were not necessarily serving the local renewal in any intended way, but often that was the result. The growing ecumenicity in Christchurch meant known pentecostals were advertised as ministering to the wider charismatic renewal. Many of the Australians[50] had a reciprocal arrangement with Morrow who regularly visited churches and conventions throughout that nation.[51] His trans-Tasman links ensured a steady stream of visitors to the Revival Fellowship. Morrow's general lack of organisation meant these people sometimes just

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[47] Owen Woodfield, telephone interview, 21 January 2003. The distinct spellings of 'Cowey' and 'Cowie' should be emphasised at this point.
[48] *Logos*, Vol. 2, No. 1, August 1967, p. 14.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] There are too many names to list but among the visitors were: Frank Houston, Kevin Connor, Clark Taylor, David Jackson, Hal Oxley, and Leon Morris.

appeared while at other times they were invited, or their visit was a response in kind to one of Morrow's many trips to Australia.[52]

The Revival Fellowship also held annual camps and conventions, and because those outside the church were welcome, these events stimulated interest in renewal topics and facilitated inter-denominational activity. Lincoln College was a popular venue[53] and special attention was paid to women's and ministers' conferences.[54] The ministers' conferences from 1970 onwards included leaders from across the denominations. It was noted in a report on the November 1972 event that:

> About 80 South Island ministers from most denominations meet in Christchurch today for three days to hear three Australian ministers—the Rev. H. Oxley, D. Jackson, and P. Collins—and to discuss developments in their work. Held under the auspices of the Christchurch Revival Fellowship, the conference has been an annual event for the last three years.[55]

Young people's and family camps were also held.[56] At the 1971 family camp at Loburn, Violet Kitely had a 'word of knowledge' for the fellowship that it would be an 'Antioch Church', that is, like Barnabas and Paul in Acts 13, they would be 'set apart' for special missionary tasks.[57] The outworking of this included the effect the church was having, and would continue to have, on the local and national charismatic renewal. Ranchord recalls that:

> We had big conventions, live-in ones too, for a while. ...For a number of years we met at Lincoln College and hundreds of people used to come...I used to oversee some of the organisation, ...there were lots of people from outside as well. Everything we did was open to the whole Body of Christ and that gave us incredible goodwill among the different denominations. ...
>
> Then we had special meetings that would run for a few days and all kinds of speakers would come and the people were very hungry...Peter and I had a deep commitment to each other and we shared the vision for the city-wide move, that's why whatever we did was always open to others. I believe that unity of vision brings real cohesion...people used to wonder how we worked so well together, because personality-wise we were very

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[51] For example, Morrow was a speaker at the 1972 Logos Foundation Convention at Stanwell Tops on the South Coast of New South Wales in 1972. There was a steady stream of invitations for him to minister in Australia, but also in Asian countries. New Life records.
[52] 'Peter used to go a great deal to minister in Australia'. Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001.
[53] Both in the pre-CAM and CAM period (that is, after 1972).
[54] Anne Morrow had been a pioneer in this area in 1966.
[55] *The Press*, 14 November 1972, p. 16.
[56] Popular venues were Loburn and Gunn's Bush. Palmer interview, 27 February 2001.
[57] New Life records.

> different, but it was a complementary ministry...We got outstanding people from overseas to come to the conventions and camps like Bob Mumford, James Beall, Charlotte Baker and Violet Kitely. ...[T]hey reinforced what we were doing locally and because people were so hungry for the Word, they flocked in when these ministries appeared.[58]

Reaching the 'whole Body' through the ministry of overseas speakers, camps and conferences was an extension of the earlier 'Adullam's Cave' outreach and the 'vision' Morrow had first received for Christchurch in 1962.

The CAM leaders were more deliberate in securing visitors specifically to stimulate renewal. With the growth of the movement world-wide, these people would come to New Zealand as part of a wider itinerary—the distance and cost usually precluding visits solely to minister in this country—as was the case, for example, with Michael Harper's visit in 1967 which included Australia. The experience with *Logos* had proved instructive in that although the aim was to bring 'a positive message, not in any way schismatic or divisive',[59] overseas visitors, if they were of reliable reputation, had a fairly free hand:

> For this reason the Logos Board supports overseas visitors such as Dennis Bennett, Michael Harper, Derek Prince and others, however different their views may be on certain hallowed points of doctrine. It is left to the wisdom of these visitors whether they mention controversial matters or not. The living consciousness of our fellowship in Christ with them is to us a more precious thing than the fear that they may drop a "hot brick"—always remembering that 'perfect love casts out fear'.[60]

Similarly, the CAM visitors to Christchurch after 1973 had *carte blanche* by virtue of their reputation and experience, and in the event—at least in public meetings—the themes and topics addressed were in accord with the 'higher way of love', which in the strongly enthusiastic and ecumenical context evident in Christchurch, tended to absorb a majority of fears and suspicions.

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[58] Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001. Beall, from Detroit, Michigan, was a contributor to *Logos* (see 'Commission to Evangelize', Vol. 4, August 1970, pp. 11-14) and author of *The School of the Holy Spirit* (1971). His mother, Myrtle, was a noted pentecostal pastor in the Latter Rain tradition. In addition to the early work at the Revival Fellowship camps, he also visited Christchurch in July 1975 and March 1979. On the latter occasion he was sponsored by the Association of Pentecostal Churches, see *The Press,* 17 March 1979, p. 25.

[59] *Logos,* Vol. 2, No.2, November 1967, p. 25. This was very similar to Harper's magazine, *Renewal.* '*Renewal* has little taste for controversy, we plan to be positive in our approach...' *Ibid.,* Vol. 1, No. 1, August 1966, p. 2.

7.2. Who Came and When

7.2.1. Traits and Profiles

The overseas ministers that served the Christchurch renewal had diverse backgrounds but common traits can be discerned. Firstly, most were authors and writers with growing lists of publications to their name. The need for new material resulted in a flourish of resources on doctrinal, devotional, teaching and practical topics designed to advance the renewal at either the personal, group and parish levels.

Secondly, most if not all visitors were experienced in pastoral ministry and were noted communicators and leaders.[61] Dennis Bennett, for example, the person credited with the first documented account of sharing Spirit baptism and tongues with his congregation in Van Nuys, California, in 1959, had experienced both the joys and problems associated with the phenomena and was obviously well placed to advice, instruct and encourage those whose experience had not yet moved beyond personal 'blessing'. Whatever else they offered, each significant overseas visitor in the early years of the renewal was sufficiently far ahead of what was occurring locally to be considered authoritative.

Another very important characteristic most visitors shared was their ecumenical disposition and known ability to bridge boundaries, especially the pentecostal-charismatic and Protestant-Catholic divides. The pursuit of unity through *philos* and *agape* love,[62] honouring Christ and 'moving in the Spirit', was the highest ideal of the charismatic renewal. This love worked out in the lives of believers respected denominational differences but sought unity as its goal. The exemplar

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[60] *Logos,* Vol. 2, No. 2, November 1967, p. 25.

[61] CAM carefully scrutinised who came and sought only recognised leaders. On at least one occasion, however, a K. J. (Ken) Newton, from the UK had written to Marshall offering to minister in New Zealand under CAM's auspices. Marshall wrote to Smail for advice. The latter replied: 'He [Newton] is a minister of the United Reformed Church, an older man who has undoubtedly come into a renewal experience. He is not however, a recognised leader or minister in this country. ...I have a kind of feeling that the whole thing has gone to his head and that he imagines himself to have a world-wide ministry, ...' Personal correspondence, 10 May 1978, CAM records. Newton did eventually minister in Christchurch in June 1979 (under the auspices of the Order of St. Luke). He spoke at St. Luke's in Manchester Street, St. John's Latimer Square, and at St. Saviour's, Beckenham. *The Press,* 23 June 1979, p. 23.

in this regard was the South African, David du Plessis, who visited Christchurch on two occasions.[63] The unity of 'the Body', its facilitation and preservation were widely considered essential for the growth and maturity of the renewal.

The CAM visitors in particular—more so than the visiting pentecostals—tended to have academic credentials.[64] Harper and Prince for example, both held postgraduate degrees from Cambridge, while the first two CAM speakers in Christchurch in January 1973, Robert Frost and Kevin Ranaghan were also highly qualified.[65] When this fact was combined with teaching dissuading emotionalism or charismatic experience as an end in itself, the credibility of the speaker and the renewal generally, was enhanced. Dennis Bennett, for example, is reported as saying at the time of his October 1966 visit that 'speaking in tongues involves no hysteria'.[66] ' "As I listened", Andrew Cowie, later said, "I found myself impressed by his commonsense...here was no religious crank...no gimmicks, no tricks of oratory" '.[67]

It was assumed by all visitors that charismatic renewal was to be the *normal* expression of the Christian life. Harper had based a series of addresses on this theme to the Massey Conference in January 1973: 'The Charismatic Renewal—Normal or Abnormal?', 'The Normal Christian', and 'The Normal Christian Church'.[68] Subsequent records testify however, that normalisation was a long and involved process requiring focused effort, committed leadership and continued unity.

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[62] This highest order 'love'—'the most excellent way'—is Paul's theme in 1 Corinthians 13. The fact this important passage appears between two accounts of spiritual gifts (chapters 12 and 14), was not lost on many charismatic commentators.
[63] In January 1966 and December 1977.
[64] J. Hywel Davies, writing in an early *Logos,* said; 'This is the testimony of a Church of Scotland minister who is a Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity—facts which are not without significance'. 'The New Pentecostalism', *Logos*, Vol. 1, No. 2, November 1966, p. 11.
[65] A biologist, Frost held a doctorate from Rice University, Houston, and Ranaghan was awarded a Ph.D. in theology in 1974 a year after his time in New Zealand.
[66] *Logos*, Vol. 1, No. 2, November 1966, p. 19.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 3.
[68] CAM records.

7.2.2. 1964-1970

A vast number of overseas visitors came to Christchurch in this period. It is not the intention here to provide a detailed chronology, but to show how selected speakers affected the evolving renewal across these foundational years. Owen and Muriel Woodfield correctly noted that 'the whole thing quickened around 1965-66'.[69] After the Wallis and McAlpine crusade in 1963-64, and the Massey Conference of August 1964, the pace of renewal picked-up in Christchurch. The city was growing and well disposed to receive visitors. The up-grading of the facilities at Harewood airport, for example, made the city more accessible to overseas speakers.

The visit of Oral Roberts and evangelists Tommy Tyson and Robert (Bob) de Weese in January 1965 saw meetings at Wellington and Rotorua as well as Christchurch. Roberts himself spoke to ministers in a one day seminar in Wellington. At this, Worsfold notes, Roberts '...emphasised the need of a broad vision and a balanced consideration of charismatic theology and by doing this he provided a sound exegesis which helped the ministers bridge the gap between intellectual theory and living experience'.[70] This was important, but so too was the stimulus the seminar provided for the 'neo-pentecostal element': 'It is a truism [he continues] that the ministry of the Revd. Oral Roberts and his associates in New Zealand greatly enhanced the public image of classical Pentecostalism as well as supplying faith and courage to the neo-Pentecostal element in the historic churches'.[71]

In Christchurch, the convergence of pentecostals (particularly, but not exclusively led by the independents) with historic church leaders embracing the renewal was well advanced and strongly encouraged by Morrow and others at the Revival Fellowship. The Woodfields describe how the dynamics of overseas input and local ministry concerning Morrow operated in concert to build the renewal:

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[69] Woodfield interview, 9 September 1997.
[70] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 316.
[71] *Ibid.*

> Peter Morrow even fostered and looked after the stray ones [ministers and pastors] and he was very generous with his time too. ...He was as much concerned about the growth in other churches as he was in his own...and he came to have an extremely keen interest in and love for the Roman Catholics, and he gathered them in, too. And at that stage in Christchurch [1968] there were quite a number of meetings held with overseas speakers and teaching schools for several days where he would have overseas speakers and occasional [annual] conventions and he would always include us in those, ...and if we needed help, he'd provide that too...and he was quick to jump on any criticism of the main denominations.[72]

In other words, overseas speakers were a stimulus to renewal, but their real value was to complement what was already occurring, rather than act as a substitute. Significantly, too, the Roberts crusade coincided with a period in which pentecostal churches were beginning to experience their own growth,[73] and the renewal assisted in that process through greater general awareness of pentecostal phenomena, and by bringing overseas speakers some of whom were jointly sponsored by pentecostal and charismatic bodies.

The next major overseas visitor was a person who bridged not only the pentecostal-charismatic divide, but was also thoroughly respected in ecumenical circles as well. The South African David du Plessis was arguably the most influential of all visitors at the time of his visit to New Zealand in January and February 1966. Du Plessis was invited by the New Zealand Pentecostal Fellowship and the NCC, and in Christchurch, David Edmonds had asked the Woodfields to accommodate him, and they agreed to do so.

Having received a 'prophecy' from Wigglesworth that he would find himself witnessing in the remoter parts of the world, du Plessis, when living in the United States, became an unofficial pentecostal ambassador-at-large in the early sixties. This brought him into contact with Roman Catholics and he was an invited guest at the Third Session of Vatican II in 1963-65. He also regularly attended WCC assemblies and through such wide contacts, gained the unofficial title of 'Mr Pentecost' and was a self-professed 'ecumaniac'.

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[72] Woodfield interview, 9 September 1997.

[73] Pentecostal churches in New Zealand experienced a 150 percent increase from 1971 to 1981, see Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 187.

Du Plessis's topics and other details of his ministry in Christchurch are not known as his visit predated *Logos* and the rise of CAM. Worsfold, notes, however, that 'many ministers and priests attended the seminars when he ministered in the main on charismatic theology and experience and how it was affecting the historic churches including the Roman Catholics',[74] while Brown adds that, 'du Plessis, ...proved widely acceptable both to his fellow-Pentecostalists and the NCC constituency'.[75] He subsequently had a regular column in *Logos*, and in the first issue, addressed the criticism of tongues that it was 'ecstatic speaking'. With typical candour he said:

> I take serious issue with those people who call speaking in tongues, "Ecstatic speaking". The Bible is the truth; but that is not in the Bible. Ecstatic speaking eliminates the Holy Spirit completely; and makes it the ecstasy of the human spirit causing a person to jabber. ...
>
> Admittedly some people seem to get excited. The reason for this is that they have been made to be so scared of this particular phenomenon that it is a battle to break free from all the teaching and culture they have had. I know this to be true by my experiences of dealing with ministers... [76]

The idea of 'unlearning' was characteristic of primitivism and presumably meant leaders would consciously be 'open to the Spirit', rather than operate instinctively according to habit, reason or ecclesiastical tradition.

Du Plessis's status can be gauged from the comment that 'no one in the twentieth century so effectively linked three of the major movements of the time—the Pentecostal movement, the ecumenical movement, and the charismatic movement'.[77] Having talked with du Plessis, author John Sherrill realised that in each of his various international roles, he 'contributed building blocks to the wall of misunderstanding separating the Pentecostals from the old-line [sic] churches'.[78] It was precisely this unity writ small, led by like-minded and committed people, and against a history of ecumenicity, that bridged denominational differences and moved the renewal forward in Christchurch.

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[74] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 316.
[75] Brown, *Forty Years On*, p. 132.
[76] 'Du Plessis Speaking', *Logos*, Vol. 1, No. 1, August 1966, p. 16.
[77] Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 253.
[78] Sherrill, *They Speak With Other Tongues*, p. 55. This is an awkward way of saying that du Plessis helped *overcome* barriers of separation and misunderstanding.

Between the visits of du Plessis and Michael Harper, Dennis Bennett came to New Zealand in October 1966. He was invited by Muller for a comprehensive tour that included fifty-seven speaking engagements over a three week period. In Christchurch Bennett was hosted by the Woodfields and in return spoke at a regular Sunday meeting at St. John's Methodist Church in Bryndwr.[79] It was recorded in *Logos* that following successful meetings in Palmerston North:

> Ministering in the South Island, Dennis Bennett met clergy, theological and university students on their own ground, speaking on the need for personal experience of the Holy Spirit, the changing trends in theology and the need for a clear message with power. A very representative meeting of 80 clergy and ministers, and 20 laymen and women were addressed at Christchurch. Speaking of the Charismatic revival, Rev. Bennett said "There is going to be a renewing of these things in our own Church. If you reject them they will give you trouble, but if you accept them rationally and in faith they can be a great blessing". "We pray in our Baptism and Confirmation services that a person will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit, but what a shock we get if we see any indication of it". "Speaking in tongues is not complicated nor frightening, it does not involve auto-suggestion nor hysteria. "My first reaction to tongues was that it was some sort of phenomenon, but since then I have seen what it can do, primarily to enable a person to express himself freely in private devotions".[80]

In the shift from Van Nuys to Seattle, and St. Luke's Episcopal Church in 1959, Bennett had demonstrated it was possible to revive a small and struggling church:

> Like so many struggling missions [he wrote], St. Luke's had run the gamut in leadership: young men on the way up, willing to stay until economic pressure or ambition forced them to accept...a 'louder call'; older men nearing retirement, bringing the ripeness and wisdom of years, but looking for a lighter work load, and unable or unwilling to meet the challenge...St. Luke's had enjoyed some very good leadership...but by the time I came, the bishop was ready to close the church—he had the padlock in his hand. I was the last chance![81]

He moved, 'eager to see what would happen if the Baptism in the Holy Spirit was openly accepted and taught in a local congregation'.[82] Worsfold notes that both Bennett and Harper 'brought about a greater understanding (chiefly in neo-Pentecostal circles) of the Biblical foundation for the experience of the baptism of

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[79] Owen Woodfield, telephone interview, 21 January 2003, see also *The Press,* 1 October 1966, p. 25. Bennett spoke at the 11 a.m. service. The Woodfields also hosted du Plessis and Prince.
[80] *Logos,* Vol. 1, No. 2, November 1966, pp. 3 and 19.
[81] Dennis Bennett, *Nine O'clock in the Morning* (Sussex: Logos International, 1970), pp. 95-96.
[82] *Ibid.,* p. 92.

the Spirit and the charismatic ministry'.[83] Bennett's presence encouraged advocates of renewal to proclaim their faith and, as in his reminder of what happens at Confirmation services, that the renewal was *normal.* He recalled at Aranui-Wainoni (where Balfour was Priest-in-Charge) reassuring the mother of a young woman affected by the renewal 'out until eleven o' clock going to these prayer meetings', that this was more normal and preferable to the inebriated habits of her son.[84]

7.2.3. 1971-1977

As discussed in Chapter 5 these were years in which the renewal reached a peak of organisational and ecumenical cohesion in Christchurch. The first cluster of overseas visitors up to 1970 were augmented by a steady stream of others in the early and mid-1970s and their role, as in the preceding period, was to provide new insight, encouragement and teaching foci.

Once the Revival Fellowship began to run camps and other outreaches, Morrow was able to secure visits from a number of contacts, many as noted, coming from Australia. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Jean Darnell from Perth was one of the earlier visitors in 1971.[85] Her healing ministry was widely respected, but it was a 'prophetic word' to Morrow that provided the stimulus for building Living Springs, an important inter-denominational conference complex near Lyttelton in the early 1970s.[86] This is an example of the direct efficacy that external teachers had on important developments in Christchurch—Ranchord's 'word' from Violet Kitely (to join Morrow), was another.[87]

The visit of Percy Brewster in 1972 was the result of an invitation from the pentecostal churches to commemorate the jubilee of Wigglesworth's visit in May 1922. Brewster, an Elim minister from England, was a very senior figure. He was secretary of the Pentecostal World Conference and editor of *World Pentecost.* He

[83] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements,* p. 316.
[84] Bennett, *Nine O'clock,* p. 235.
[85] See 4.2.3, p. 114, n. 77.
[86] The complex was opened in October 1976, see 'Camp Built on Faith Opens for Business', *Christchurch Star,* 2 October 1976, p. 5. Details of Darnell's 'vision' were provided by Max Palmer, Palmer interview, 27 February 2001.
[87] See 4.2.2, p. 109.

has been described as 'a man of vision and bounding energy, a gifted evangelist with a particular skill for gathering converts, he combined this with a caring pastoral ministry'. In a similar vein, the advertisement for the visit to Christchurch in June read:

> A man mightily used by God as an evangelist, in healing, in baptism of the Holy Spirit and in leading thousands to Christ. In recent crusade [sic] in Korea 8,300 people accepted Christ. In 1970 he chaired the World Pentecostal conference in Dallas USA attended by 11,000 delegates.[88]

At least three points are significant concerning Brewster's presence and the local renewal. Firstly, there had been a shift evident from the NZPF forum on charismatic issues in December 1967 in that the independents were now among the sponsors of this event. Previously they had been excluded from the dialogue between established pentecostal groups and the historic churches.[89] This reflects an acceptance of the Revival Fellowship and the generally warm relationships among pentecostal pastors in the city by that time. The Fellowship was part of the mainstream and an effective organisational link between charismatics and other pentecostals in the immediate pre-CAM period. Secondly, the emphasis in promoting Brewster was on charismatic ministries and evangelistic outcomes. The renewal was increasingly being presented as necessary for successfully promoting wider evangelism and 'results'. And thirdly, this visit was well timed; albeit, unintentionally. The profile of the renewal was growing and there was considerable activity including the Jesus Marches and a large conference in Palmerston North attended by local charismatic leaders.[90]

The first officially CAM speakers in Christchurch were Frost and Ranaghan in early 1973. Their meetings at the Town Hall were advertised as a 'Christian Advance Teaching Seminar' as the main event at that time was in Palmerston

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[88] *The Press*, 27 May 1972, p. 21. Brewster spoke at two evening meetings at Cashmere High School on 3 and 4 June (Saturday and Sunday). The meetings were held at the Town Hall. See also Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, p. 321.

[89] See n. 39.

[90] This was during Easter 1972. Owen Woodfield recalls that 'about 2000 were there, with at least 800 of them from denominational churches ranging from Roman Catholics through to Brethren'. Woodfield interview, 9 September 1997. For other comments on this conference, see Woodfield's paper; 'Switched on to the Holy Spirit', in *The Winds of the Spirit—An Introductory Study on the Charismatic Movement* (Auckland: Methodist Board of Publications, 1974), pp. 15-19. In another paper by Ian Ramage ('The Charismatic Chellenge', pp. 19-23) it was noted, with some validity, that: '...even at its best I don't believe this movement [the renewal] is anywhere near good enough for what we need. Wheat for the starving it may often provide, but there's liable to be an awful lot of chaff mixed in with it', p. 20.

North.[91] Frost shared his testimony while Ranaghan spoke on being one in the Spirit.

Frost's book, *Aglow With The Spirit*, contains an account of Spirit baptism in 1955, which, it can be assumed, would be similar to what was shared in Christchurch. The desire for 'something more' and the experience of power—two common themes—were clearly evident:

> As I read the book of Acts [Frost recounts], I discovered men that were full of faith, wisdom, power and joy. These were the very qualities that were so obviously deficient in my personal experience. Furthermore, their secret seemed to be related to the fullness of the Spirit, for repeatedly, I found the above realities linked with the little phrase "and full of the Holy Ghost". I knew I was indwelt by His Spirit, but I longed for His fullness in a way that would align my life with theirs. I was not content to read about something that was real some 2,000 years ago; I wanted to experience it now![92]

This was the 'hunger' that Ranchord, Woodfield and others spoke of that was so evident in this period. The appearance of Ranaghan was also strategically important to Roman Catholics attempting to make sense of the Vatican II reforms as well as the emerging charismatic renewal. Betty O' Dowd recalls how Ranaghan's book was a catalyst to her own faith and that of others she knew:

> A friend of mine I had known for many years, a Catholic, had had some connection with this [pentecostalism] and [asked] did I know anything about it, and I was filled with apprehension on his behalf because I thought it was some sort of spiritual disease. And unwillingly, because I didn't have much time, but because I thought he was in need of help, I went and listened to what he had to say. It was pretty confused and involved, and it seemed to be a new sacrament called the baptism of the Holy Spirit. I couldn't really follow it, it wasn't at all a logical account and it wasn't that what he said intellectually was convincing, it's just that I knew perfectly well that what I was listening to was the account of an absolutely authentic and valuable spiritual experience and that he was not ill, whatever else.
>
> I would have been content to leave it there, but my friend insisted that I read *Catholic Pentecostals,* which I didn't wish to read because I was busy and not particularly interested...but he was insistent, so I took it and read it and immediately recognised as I went through it, that this was absolutely in keeping with orthodox Catholic teaching and indeed, that it sort of followed-on from what I had myself been teaching for years about what the significance of the Council [Vatican II] was in the Catholic

[91] *The Press,* 6 January 1973, p. 17.
[92] Robert Frost, *Aglow With The Spirit* (Plainfield, New Jersey: Logos International, revised edition, 1971), p. 107.

> Church. I found the book completely convincing. I was well-read theologically and I was confident in my own judgement. So I shared the book with a friend who was immediately caught-up by it, caught-up in the Spirit. ...I then proceeded to read everything I could lay my hands on.[93]

Due to Ces Dennehy's friendship with Morrow, the renewal within Catholic circles in Christchurch was well advanced by 1973, but Ranaghan's book and visit stimulated considerable interest. This led O' Dowd over the next three months to attend Morrow and Ranchord's 'Upper Room' meetings and seek Spirit baptism through prayer with Dennehy. She also attended teaching meetings at the New Life Centre conducted by the noted American pentecostal, Don Basham.[94] This was O' Dowd's first experience of hearing people pray and sing in tongues. 'It was', she says, 'electrifying but enormously beautiful and again I had no doubt this was genuine'. Attendance at the New Life Centre was 'initially where they [Catholics] went...there was an effortless ecumenism, ...'[95]

As the renewal in Christchurch matured towards a high level of ecumenicity one overseas visitor able to exposit the importance of unity with unparalleled facility was the Canadian pentecostal Ern Baxter. His visits in May 1973 and January 1974 coincided with the growth of CAM and planning associated with the Commonwealth Games Christian Outreach.[96] The May meetings at the Revival Fellowship occurred alongside those conducted by Clark Taylor, Loren Cunningham, the founder and world director of YWAM, and the millionaire businessman and electronics manufacturer, George Otis. This constellation of overseas ministries was unprecedented in the history of the renewal in Christchurch. Equally as important was the intent in Baxter's meetings to reach not only pentecostal constituencies, but charismatics as well. Morrow specifically targeted ministers and pastors to attend the teaching seminars at St. Paul's

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[93] O' Dowd interview, 12 October 1997.

[94] Basham was another well-known pentecostal. He had left a pastoral role in 1967 after his first book *Face Up With a Miracle* had been published. In his 1969 book, *A Handbook on Holy Spirit Baptism* (Fort Lauderdale, Florida, Christian Growth Ministries, 1969), Basham adopted a question-and-answer approach which was considered 'a valuable tool for answering the most often-asked questions in the charismatic movement today' (text on rear cover). He was among the first in the renewal to teach on deliverance, see Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 51-52.

[95] O' Dowd interview, 12 October 1997. The independent pentecostals were pioneers in this: ' "Singing in the Spirit" was a central part of the worship of these [new] churches. At the time it was considered "extreme".' Knowles, 'from the ends of the earth we hear songs', p. 5.

[96] Baxter's later visit was in relation to the Commonwealth Games. See 5.2.1, pp. 154-55.

Trinity Pacific Church in Cashel Street during the day.[97] 'This outstanding Bible Teacher', the advertisement read,' brings to the present Charismatic Renewal, a ministry dedicated to the "Unity of the Spirit" and the development of God-honouring maturity in the Christian community'.[98] As it transpired, this was no idle boast.

Baxter was sensitive to the potential for schism, the need for unity and the related areas of leadership and authority. Having worked with William Branham and been personally involved in church splits, he was well aware of the problem areas, but also of the 'blessing' that came with unity. It is also alleged he had a great passion for the Church in Australasia, believing it to be favourably positioned to resource and lead world-wide renewal.[99]

The following passage is from a sermon on sovereignty. In it Baxter expresses, in consummate terms, what he thought unity, community and self-realisation in Christian community really meant. His lofty Trinitarianism was delivered with the skill and tempo of an experienced race commentator:

> ...Over the ages, He is the God who out of His eternal 'nowness' flung the time-space world into existence; He sits outside of it in powerful authority, and He is involved within it in incarnate humility. He is the Cosmic King. It is of the nature of our God that within the mystery of the plurality of His own person, there is order. Father, Son and Holy Spirit, or, as an old puritan divine has said: "God in Himself is a sweet society".
>
> The order of God's ultimate purpose is to be seen in His own person. That within the mystery of His person, Father, Son and Holy Spirit there is absolute unity, while there is inexplicable submission; the Father sent the Son, and the Son came; the Son returned to the Father, and the Father and the Son sent the Holy Spirit, and the Spirit came, and within the persons that are co-equal, co-substantial and co-essential there is a submission that is evident that is the highest lesson to us—that God is a God of order, and, as Bishop Hooker has said: "Order is heaven's first law".
>
> And in the kingdom coming, we're not speaking of some euphoric, ethereal, mystic matter; we're talking of order—we're talking of man coming in to the fullness of his self-realisation, into his ultimate destiny as the image of God functioning in inter-personal relationships and in community, until a waiting universe sees God projecting Himself out of the

[97] This large central-city church was often used by the Revival Fellowship in the busy years prior to the move into Majestic House. It was formed by the merger of Trinity Congregational with St. Paul's Presbyterian in 1968. *The Press,* 18 January 1975, p. 14.
[98] From a large display advertisement, see *The Press,* 28 April 1973, p. 19.
[99] Palmer interview, 27 February 2001.

> Trinity of His person into a community of redeemed men and women that are to the everlasting praise of His Glory...[100]

This sort of exhortation captured the high ideals of Christian community. The desire for closer sharing and fellowship in the Spirit was a sustained feature of the renewal in the early 1970s. It led to retreats[101] and the appearance of residential and other communities associated with different churches and groups, notably Sydenham AOG, the Unity Singers, as well as the Catholic communities.

According to Dennis Barton, Sydenham AOG had several commune-like groups 'about four or five' ministering to the 'hippie' culture,[102] while John McNeil recalls members of the Unity Singers asking ' "Why are we bothering to go home?" and from there a movement into community quickly developed',[103] while the Catholics with a long tradition of monastic and convent communities, extended this as a result of charismatic influence: the Maranatha House Community in Bealey Avenue and the Lamb of God Covenant Community in St. Albans were two such ventures, while the Redemptorist Monastery in Bower Avenue, New Brighton, was profoundly affected by the renewal.[104] Father Humphrey O' Leary recalled that Dennehy introduced him to the renewal during one of his visits to New Zealand from Australia in January 1971. O' Leary then returned and convened 'the first ever weekly Catholic Charismatic Renewal prayer meeting in Melbourne'.[105]

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[100] This is from an audio-tape ('The Kingdom of God') supplied by Palmer. It is not clear whether this was recorded in Christchurch or elsewhere, but, as the advertisement indicates, it is similar to the themes addressed in the city and representative of Baxter's general style and emphasis.

[101] That is, withdrawals of groups, usually to rural areas, for specialist teaching, ministry or 'fellowship'. Allen Neil has correctly noted with particular reference to developments in the Catholic Church, that 'retreats have been a major vehicle for the spread of the charismatic renewal'. 'The Institutional Churches', p. 90.

[102] Barton interview, 6 October 1997.

[103] Written correspondence, 18 April 2002.

[104] In an interesting turn of events, the Bealey Avenue premises were later purchased by Barton's church and renamed the 'Family Centre' when the Caledonian Centre became inadequate. Barton interview, 6 October 1997.

[105] O' Leary, telephone interview, 12 July 2000.

The contribution of two other CAM visitors needs to be mentioned in closing this section.[106] Thomas (Tom) Smail and Graham Pulkingham both had specific emphases which edified local efforts.

The Scottish minister Tom Smail came to Christchurch in April 1974.[107] He spoke on the self-evident benefits of renewal, namely, its ability, in his view, to restore credibility to the Church, and increase membership and financial giving. These were aspects only starting to emerge with change at the parish level. Whereas in 1967 Harper had concentrated on how to receive Spirit baptism, the renewal could now be evaluated in pragmatic terms and in relation to the experience of parishes whose leaders had embraced it. As the CAM records indicate, this was an important emphasis because the challenge at that time was to get the renewal into the local church. A newspaper reporter noted that Smail had focused on the renewal's potential to turn churches around:

> In churches where the movement was gaining acceptance there had been a change "... to a dynamic body of people who found they had a real job to do, and were making an impact of the kind that could not be accounted for by natural ability," he said. It also "sorted out the church-goer for whom church-going was a social convention from the "open and committed," he said.[108]

This encouraged advocates but also de-mystified the perception of renewal as 'extreme'. The indisputable 'results' that could be obtained in reinvigorating church life was also attractive in the local context as the union debates at this time dragged-on and attendance figures in the historic churches continued to fall.

Smail however, was also a theological thinker. In his 1975 book *Reflected Glory*, he developed the theme of unity, and like Baxter—but with arguably less eloquence and more substance—attempted to give it a firm Trinitarian basis:

> His work among God's people is in conformity with his position in God's being. The Holy Spirit does not do his own thing, which is somehow in a realm by itself apart from the work of Christ, or which is somehow and

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[106] Many more of course could be discussed. The raft of return visitors from Australia at the Revival Fellowship/New Life Centre was notable, as were the expanding number of venues visitors were asked to speak at. This was a result of the inter-denominationalism brought about by the renewal.
[107] *The Press*, 27 April 1974, p. 19.
[108] *Ibid.*

> improvement or advance upon the work of Christ. The one who in his being proceeds from the Father and Son, can only do a work which glorifies Father and Son. This is the clear teaching of Jesus in the crucial verses John 16 vv 12-15, which are quite normative for any Christian understanding of the Spirit, and to which we shall have to return again and again.[109]

Trinitarian interrelationship from a sound theological platform was not an area many writers were prepared or equipped to explore, and in Smail's case, this led to increased doubts about the adequacy of the renewal in its populist expressions.

Meanwhile, other aspects of renewal, the music for example, continued to develop and were more appealing and accessible than theology. Husband and wife team Graham and Betty Pulkingham were among the overseas visitors to New Zealand in the early 1970s. The Pulkinghams made an important contribution to renewal music. Originally from the United States, they moved to England in 1972 and later established the Community of Celebration on Cumbrae Island (off the west coast of Scotland).[110] A successful itinerant music ministry, the Fisherfolk, evolved from the community and the songs produced by the Pulkinghams and the Fisherfolk were not only supportive of personal renewal, but reflected a desire to build community for effective outreach. In relation to the Pulkinghams, Allen Neil comments that, 'although individual piety was important, the building of local Charismatic communities, as a corporate expression of the (local) church's life in the Holy Spirit, would have more effect on the world in terms of ministry than an individualistic approach'.[111] As O' Dowd recalls, the Pulkingham songs were also easy to sing and memorable:

> The Summer Schools at Lincoln were *hugely* important, one particularly [so for] me, but [also for] a number of others. The kind of hymns that were produced and sung there; that man Pulkingham that I mentioned to you before, his wife had a *very* special gift and ministry for music, and the kind of hymns and music that they were producing seemed to me to be quite wonderful, in that I was perfectly happy with the sentiments they expressed, they were truly devout and uplifting, they were prayer in song,

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[109] Thomas Smail, *Reflected Glory* (Kent: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975), p. 12. In relation to other literature of a more populist nature, Smail addresses issues in some depth and with a noticeably sophisticated theological approach, citing such important figures as John Calvin, Edward Irving and Karl Barth. He argued for a wider work of grace. 'We have', he concludes, 'refused to wear the uniform second blessing theology'. p. 134.

[110] Burgess et al., *Dictionary,* p. 751.

[111] Neil, 'The Institutional Churches', p. 123.

> the tunes, ...I could sing them immediately and I was happy with the words as well. And they had huge emotional impact.[112]

The Pulkinghams were guests at the 1975 Summer School from 6 to 10 January.[113] Along with visits from New Zealand music pioneers, David and Dale Garratt, the 'free worship' and extemporaneous 'singing in the Spirit' strongly encouraged at the Revival Fellowship, and the input of the locally-formed Unity Singers from 1973, the music was fluid but encapsulated an enthusiasm reflective of the very essence of renewal.[114] Another noted English charismatic, David Watson, was particularly gifted in bringing renewal music into the mainstream of church worship, and for later introducing drama and mime.[115]

7.3. Patterns and Trends

7.3.1. Themes and Phases

Whatever the particular teaching or ministry focus, the purpose of each visitor, conference, seminar or retreat was to consolidate spiritual growth through the evocation, presence and work of the Holy Spirit. Within this overarching goal and notwithstanding the enormous diversity and volume of personnel who serviced the renewal, a broad shift of themes can be discerned from the above analysis.

While Derek Prince's material was comparatively holistic—the things of the Spirit were elucidated within an Old Testament-New Testament schema—most writers from the mid-1960s, beginning with Sherrill's *They Speak With Other Tongues*, were apologists for 'the baptism' and tongues, both of which required

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[112] O' Dowd interview, 12 October 1997. Emphasis in original.

[113] CAM records. At a separate meeting in the Town Hall later in the month, Ralph Martin, the noted Catholic charismatic from Ann Arbor, Michigan also visited.

[114] Pulkingham also visited in 1972, see Bolitho, 'In This World', p. 111. Other visitors up to 1977 not discussed include the South American evangelist, Juan Carlos Ortiz, in November 1974 who was described at the time as 'the "great organizer", the synthesizer of the reflection and practice of the group and the consummate communicator', C. Peter Wagner, *Look Out! The Pentecostals Are Coming* (London: Coverdale House, 1973). p. 163; David Pawson and Colin Urquhart. It was noted in a letter to Michael Harper after Urquhart's time in New Zealand in May 1976 that 'Colin's visit has been a resounding success in many ways. His quiet presentation endeared him to many people, but the impact of what he had to say was quite considerable. We call it 'quiet clobbering', and both the Clergy Seminars and the Regional Conferences were deeply challenging and will have long-range, far-reaching effects we are certain'. Letter to Harper, 18 June 1976, CAM records.

[115] Watson had a significant impact at Spreydon Baptist, Robertson interview, 8 October 1997. He also spoke at the annual Inter-Varsity Fellowship (IVF) Conference at Lincoln College and at Anglican Cathedral, see *The Press*, 16 May 1973, p. 6, and 26 May 1973, p. 19. The 1973 visit was under the auspices of IVF.

considerable explanation. This approach intermingled testimony with theological justification, usually from primitivistic presuppositions—these phenomena were evident at Pentecost and should be sought and practised today. The claim of charismatics to experience supernatural 'power' gained poignant validity against the fears of the sixties. As one commentator in 1969 said in arguing for a rediscovery of the Holy Spirit:

> The world today is witnessing not the 'death of God' but the death which comes with godlessness. ...A secularism which has banished the supernatural is smothering under the blanket of its own self-generating despair. The world which is putting its trust not in God, but in force and war, lives perpetually on the brink of nuclear destruction.
>
> We live today on the right side of Pentecost. We belong still to the era of the Holy Spirit. Hence the Spirit is abroad on the earth, we can expect to meet His influence everywhere. What He is doing is creating an hour which is disturbing, painful, but also full of exhilaration. To live at such a time calls for patience, faith and hope.[116]

For those wanting renewal this urgency was accompanied by a belief for demonstrative spiritual experience *now.* This was a departure from classical pentecostalism where 'tarrying' or waiting on the Spirit was common. Merrill Unger bluntly stated this when he said in defence of the renewal:

> How ridiculous to wait or "tarry" for Him when He arrived and took permanent residence in the church, the body of Christ, at Pentecost over nineteen hundred years ago and has been resident in the believer individually and in the church corporately ever since. It is just as irrational to "tarry for the Holy Spirit" today as to go to meet a friend at a railroad station or airport *after he has already arrived and has been a guest in your home for days or even weeks.*[117]

This was an important difference for two reasons; firstly, as noted, because it reflected the need for spiritual power in uncertain times, and secondly, a belief in the immediacy of Spirit baptism meant that the experience was universally accessible to all believers without special preparation. The primary requirements were a 'hunger' for God and openness. Had the tarrying emphasis been retained it is unlikely the renewal would have sparked the 'conflagration' it did at places like 'Adullam's Cave'.

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[116] Alan Walker, *Breakthrough—Rediscovering the Holy Spirit* (London: Fontana Books, 1969), p. 81. Walker had attended the Methodist Conference in New Zealand in 1964. Brown, *Forty Years On*, p. 135.

Baptism in the Spirit and tongues remained constant themes in books, other literature and in teaching seminars throughout the 1970s, although the need for direct apologia and testimonies to convince about the validity of the experience diminished in the face of the 'lived testimony' of many charismatics, their zest for life and love for 'the Word' and for 'worship'. The solid grounding provided by Prince's Foundation Series in the mid-1960s gave way to more nuanced accounts as in Smail's *Reflected Glory* a decade later, and, as will be evident in the following chapter, this had led to a more polemical reflection by 1980.

The emphasis on personal renewal and rediscovery of Spirit baptism and tongues evolved into parish renewal and teaching on wider issues. By 1971, for example, *Logos* had developed from the 1966 emphases on testimony and a rediscovery of the Holy Spirit in modern times, to more specialist themes such as prophecy, authority, and responding in times of testing.[118] This latter topic—which could not have featured in the early issues of the magazine—was treated with sobriety and the hindsight of life experience. Leo Harris, the noted Australian pentecostal who subsequently visited Christchurch said in *Logos* that:

> In times of great blessing, or in the midst of the fervour of a revival meeting, it is not easy to assess how much we have really gained in spiritual experience.
>
> In the time of testing, however, we discover how real and permanent our spiritual experience is, and, on the other hand, how much of our blessing has been temporary and superficial.
>
> With few exceptions, great spiritual experiences are followed by a "wilderness" of testing and trial. Human nature is so constituted that it seems impossible for one to maintain the fervency and excitement of supernatural blessing without times of reaction. ...
>
> This is true concerning the blessing of salvation, of physical healing, the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and almost all other experiences.[119]

In Christchurch, however, the 'times of trial' were largely overshadowed in the early and mid-1970s by the sheer fervour and excitement of what was going on.

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[117] Merrill F. Unger, *New Testament Teaching on Tongues* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Kregel Publications, 1971), p. 155, emphasis in original.

[118] The August 1966 issue (Vol. 1, No. 1) was compared with July 1971 (Vol. 5).

[119] *Ibid.* (July 1971), p. 20. He also added, 'We can only possess what we can hold under pressure!' Harris (1920-1977), founded the Christian Revival Crusade in Adelaide in November 1945. His teaching on the Anglo-Saxon people being the 'lost tribes' of Israel was unusual. In Christchurch he spoke at the New Life Centre and at Barton's church, the Family Centre, see *The Press*, 3 April 1976, p. 21.

At no time, however, was the importance of teaching diminished or lost. 'Healing' and 'deliverance' were two areas being addressed in more depth at the Summer Schools, while leadership and prayer in the local parish were more concrete topics in terms of affecting that critical area of change. Accompanying efforts to expand renewal was a close and felt sense of inter-denominational unity. This was an unplanned but equally important outcome. Cecil Marshall, the then general-secretary of CAM captured this 'value-added' and synergistic dimension when he said:

> While the ministry of overseas speakers is always a drawcard, part of the value of Summer Schools is the inspiration and fellowship that is expressed in times of worship at the morning Communion Services, and evening meetings; the lifting of our faith through seeing what God is doing all around the country, and the denominational meetings which give many people a sense of identity and hope.[120]

This identity was complemented in Christchurch by intense inter-denominational activity through the *regular* work of the Revival Fellowship and an array of networks to service and extend the renewal. At the core of this unity was a sensitivity towards denominational difference—particularly Catholic distinctives—but an expressed hope in the higher work of the Spirit. This milieu of support meant the Summer Schools were high points of the renewal and strategically very important for teaching and inspiration, but they harmonised with an already vibrant charismatic culture.

There are then, three discernible phases of the Christchurch renewal as it reached the zenith of its organisational and ecclesiological unity around 1977, and as expressed in the topics and issues addressed by visiting speakers and in conferences and seminars: the mid and late sixties period where the focus was on issuing apologia and 'rediscovery' of baptism in the Holy Spirit, its validity for contemporary believers, and the widely-held 'initial evidence' in the use of tongues; a second phase, in the early 1970s, where this emphasis, although retained in most literature, was accompanied by related aspects such as 'healing', 'deliverance' and 'prophecy'; and a third, more mature phase after 1974 characterised by a high level of ecumenicity and unity in denominational diversity.

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[120] CAM records, n.d., circa late 1975.

7.3.2. Relationship to Ecumenical Developments

Visiting speakers addressed specific needs and new topics of interest but the combined effect of their presence also created a yearning for closer unity in the Spirit. A number of visitors, notably Baxter, gave this quest a strong Trinitarian foundation.

Based on such important passages as John 17[121] and Ephesians 4 verse 3,[122] charismatics understood that unity was to be brought about by the work of the Spirit rather than through doctrinal or organisational means.[123] It had to be worked at relationally with otherwise disparate persons desiring the greater good and yielding to the Spirit's leading. This, as Baxter and Smail had taught, rested on fresh understandings of the work of the Cross in removing barriers and reconciling believers in one body, the Church. The expanded horizons spoken of in these passages were approximated in Christchurch where networks existed to embody the messages on unity.

Leaders of the renewal were conscious to seek the Spirit's guidance through prayer and proclamation, rather than institutionalised means. Smail, for example, warned against this by remaining responsive to the 'move of the Spirit':

> If the gifts are employed apart from the unity of the Body, and outside the context of the Church, they become divisive and contentious, as they did at Corinth, and if the Church so defines and institutionalises its unity as to suppress the gifts and quench the Spirit, then the Church goes so far unedified and Christ so far unrevealed. Those whose particular care is for the unity of the Body need to watch that they do not achieve it by suppressing the Spirit, and those whose great desire is for the release of the creative Spirit need to make sure that the end of the upbuilding of the Body is held firmly in view.[124]

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[121] The prayer of Jesus in 23b was of particular significance: "May they be brought to complete unity to let the world know that you have sent me and have loved them even as you have loved me".

[122] "Make every effort to keep the unity of the Spirit through the bond of peace".

[123] This may be why many felt uneasy with the church union debate. Paradoxically however, the overall desire for 'oneness' amongst charismatics may have exerted some influence on the union vote in Christchurch by the mid-1970s. As Colin Brown has pointed out, however, the exact correlation is difficult to prove and remains speculative. See 'The Ecumenical Contribution' in Colless and Donovan (Eds) *Religion in New Zealand Society*, p. 90.

This was certainly the desire of those co-ordinating Group 70, the regional prayer and praise meetings, and Morrow and Ranchord in running their weekly Charismatic Bible Studies. It was also reinforced by the visiting speakers and at conferences, seminars and Summer Schools.

The key, as most leaders were aware after a certain period, lay at the level of the local congregation, and the smaller 'bodies' each functioning as a microcosm of the wider Body, as Smail explains:

> All of this [he continues] has implications for both the ministry and worship. The nature of the Spirit's operation requires that the wholeness of ministry should belong to the whole Body and not to any one member of it. In the New Testament there is no trace of the omnicompetent ministers our churches are always seeking, but there is a promise of an omnicompetent congregation. ...There is certainly a presiding ministry in every congregation, whose calling is to regulate its whole life, but that calling is not to one man to do everything himself, but rather to unlock the potential charisms in all the brethren and recognise and nurture the ministry of the whole Body because "To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good" (1 Cor. 12:7). The much talked of ministry of the laity has a hope of becoming reality in the freedom of the released Spirit. [125]

This exposition of basic principles helped channel efforts to expand renewal into parishes. Inter-denominational activity had its own appeal, but the real goal was to effect change within specific congregations. The 'omnicompetence' message restored significance to 'ordinary' believers and helped dissolve differences between clergy and laity—a view that later caused problems but in this period, was generally considered desirable.

In the early years Morrow urged those at his meetings to return to their own churches and work for change there; by the early 1970s this was being reinforced by 'experts' such as Basham, who in 1971 had written:

> ...don't be in any big rush to change churches. If your initial attempts to give your witness are met with cool rebuff or even open hostility, you may be strongly tempted to leave your church for some other congregation where you believe people will be more receptive. Go slow! Pray long and hard! Be doubly sure that it is God's will before you make such a move, for if you leave, who will be the witness in your church? Your very qualities are needed where you are. The most powerful Christian witness in any congregation may come from the few members who are Spirit-filled, and

[124] Smail, *Reflected Glory*, p. 130.
[125] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

> more than one church has been prayed to life by the earnest intercession of one or two Spirit-filled laymen who resisted the temptation to head for "greener fields" and instead opened the way for revival in their own church by the power of their prayers.
>
> Let your experience of the Holy Spirit draw you into deeper and more loving participation in the life of your church, not only with some charismatic group you may join, but in the church's worship and service as well.[126]

This was good counsel from an experienced minister—in this case a pentecostal—whose message reinforced the pleas of local leaders.

The cumulative effect was the erosion of sectarian differences and a genuine movement for change. By 1977 there was a perceived synergy with the whole being greater than the sum of its parts and the input of international leaders greatly enhancing the momentum and desire locally to press onward to the further 'blessings' it was believed the Spirit wanted to bring.[127]

7.3.3. Assessment

The three phases in the rise of charismatic renewal in Christchurch each benefited from the teaching of overseas speakers and the organisational support that occurred through conferences, camps and seminars. These activities were essential in the growth and direction of the renewal. In each period the teaching was led by competent and experienced ministers. People like Prince, Harper, Brewster, Watson, Baxter, and Smail, were world leaders in the pentecostal and charismatic renewal movements. As the renewal grew and affected more individuals and churches, the dynamics of the meetings moved increasingly towards larger, auditorium venues which were quite different from the small group of 100, for example, that had attended the meeting of Dennis Bennett in October 1966.[128]

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[126] Don Basham, *A Handbook on Holy Spirit Baptism,* p. 148. Clearly this was not a message heeded at Opawa Baptist or Hornby Presbyterian: both parishes experienced an exodus of disgruntled charismatics seeking the 'greener fields' of Hornby Elim and Spreydon Baptist. See 6.1.2, pp. 193-94, and 6.2.2, p. 207.

[127] Another text cited by a number of interviewees as influential was Psalm 133 verses 1 and 2: 'How good and pleasant it is when brothers live together in unity. It is like precious oil poured on the head, running down on the beard, running down on Aaron's beard, down upon the collar of his robes'.

[128] Eighty clergy and twenty laymen attended Bennett's Christchurch meeting in October 1966. By 1977, attendance at the Lincoln Summer School was 404. CAM records. See also n. 80.

On average these stays were brief; typically two to three days, and often over a weekend, but week-long visits at conferences and camps were also common. The tendency for first tier speakers[129] to preach and minister at more than one church was a noticeable development of the 1970s not strongly evident in earlier years. The 'cross pollination' between pentecostals and charismatics reflected the push for unity in the city as well as a common demand for more teaching.

Another feature was the sheer volume and number of persons who came. Owing to the multi-facted nature of ministry opportunities and the variety of church and para-church groups promoting renewal experience, it is difficult to establish an exact number of visitors to Christchurch, but a conservative estimate based on research spanning the decade 1966 to 1976—the busiest period—saw over sixty reputable ministers and pastors active in the city. This figure however, does not include groups (the Fisherfolk, for example, who accompanied Pulkingham), visiting New Zealand ministries (such as the Garratts, Marcus Arden, Muri Thompson and Tom Marshall, who were regular visitors), and is exclusive of return visits; YWAM director, Loren Cunningham, and the English healing evangelist Harry Greenwood, for example, both visited three times in that period.[130]

The teaching from overseas ministers was specific, well timed, sustained, and largely non-sectarian in nature. Each of these points requires explanation. The teaching was *specific* in that most visitors in addition to the 'standard' topics of Spirit baptism and tongues (particularly in the early period where that emphasis was greatest), also explored their own topics of interest which expanded the boundaries of belief and practice.

Prince, Harper and Basham for example, all preached on 'deliverance' and opened-up the complex issue of demonic influence, which was considered the obverse of freedom in the Spirit, but, reflecting the hyper-spirituality typical of religious enthusiasms, was a reality for charismatic believers. Another area for experimentation and exploration was music. The simple melodies of the

[129] Any such categorising is ultimately a matter of subjective assessment, but the names in the preceding paragraph would certainly qualify given their status and influence.

Fisherfolk and the early Garratt Scripture in Song series gave way to a more conspicuous affiliation with a rock genre and use of a wider range of instruments as time went on. Mike and Viv Hibbert, originally with the Revival Fellowship, were among a group of Christchurch musicians and composers whose work had international exposure through publication of their work in Scripture in Song. They were among the professional musicians who taught on music and 'worship', but even casual experiences or 'encounters with the Spirit' exerted an influence on the titles selected for the Garratt books. Jocelyn Cowey, for example, recalls that:

> God had been doing a work in my life and I had this Scripture [Zechariah 9 verse 9], which the Lord gave me, and it came to me later in a song which I sang [at the Revival Fellowship] the following Sunday. ...The Garratts were there and liked it and that's how it ['Rejoice Greatly O Daughter of Zion'] ended up in their book, ...it wasn't a professional thing at all, it just came out of my experience.[131]

Secondly, much of the teaching was *well timed* in terms of local needs. Bennett's and Harper's defence of charismatic basics was as appropriate in the early phase as Baxter's exhortations on the Trinitarian basis of unity were in the mid-1970s. He in particular, provided some teaching substance to the already apparent trend towards close inter-denominational activity. 'Being in the stream of God's purposes'—a phrase employed by Baxter—went beyond denominational structures and created a strong impression that some things were of God and others not. This may have bolstered local efforts to preserve and promote unity at a critical juncture, but it was also a rather diminished view of the sovereignty of God.

Thirdly, the teaching was *sustained.* There were no 'dry' periods where input was lacking or entirely absent. The joint efforts of those at the Revival Fellowship and CAM, and others[132] to bring people to the city ensured a steady stream of reputable visitors augmenting and steering local developments.

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[130] Cunningham visited in November 1972, April 1973 and February 1975; Greenwood in March 1973, March 1974, February 1976 and also in February 1977.

[131] Jocelyn Cowey, telephone interview, 28 January 2003. David Garratt added that the songs came from a wide variety of sources and the final selection was carefully made. Telephone interview, 7 January 2003.

[132] FGBMFI and Women's Aglow, for example.

And fourthly, the teaching as received in Christchurch appeared to be *non-sectarian,* and certainly this was what Morrow and others had tried to emphasise from the early days. Ranchord, for example, stressed that all meetings under the auspices of the Revival Fellowship 'were open to the whole Body of Christ'[133] and this freedom to come and go initiated the renewal. As a result, charismatics were exposed to international pentecostal teachers without any expectation or coercion placed upon them to leave their own churches. CAM too, sourced a range of speakers emphasising common themes rather than parochial doctrinal or denominational interests. Whether it was planned or coincidence is not known, but the first meetings with Frost and Ranaghan in 1973 were symbolic of rapport between Protestants and Catholics and expressive of the Anglo-Catholic origins and ethos of CAM itself.

The genuine inter-denominational co-operation evident in Christchurch provided a very welcoming stage to host overseas visitors and there was a marked absence of what had once been referred to in *Logos* as 'hot bricks' (controversial issues), not because they were nonexistent in what was said—some messages may well have been received as such elsewhere—but because the lens through which they were viewed tended to 'see' them that way. With reference to those visiting the Revival Fellowship for example, Jocelyn Cowey's impression was of a balance of interpretations as well as a volume of 'throughput': 'It was amazing', she recalls, 'there was such a balance; someone would speak on one topic and then someone else the next week on the other side of the coin [sic], it was amazing really how God balanced it out.'[134]

Like other enthusiasms, the renewal created a definite niche and need for 'new' teaching, and the combined influence persons visiting the city had on the evolution of charismatic developments in Christchurch was unquestionably decisive.

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[133] This led to criticism from some independents in the early years that Morrow was 'too wide' in his tolerance of the historic churches.

[134] Jocelyn Cowey, telephone interview, 28 January 2003.

Summary

The initial impetus for the charismatic renewal in Christchurch came from Peter Morrow in 1962 but this inaugurating role was shared by CAM when it was established a decade later. Early visitors, both in their teaching and literature, provided a biblical basis for the renewal; it was a valid spiritual experience substantiated by Scripture, testimonies of baptism in the Spirit and through the use of tongues. While CAM was a national body also active in other cities, the constant input from Peter Morrow both in terms of his own disposition and teaching, as well as his close links with Australian and other international pastors, gave the Christchurch renewal considerable assistance.

Most speakers were apologists for the renewal but also demonstrated specialist areas of interest and ministry. By the early 1970s additional themes included 'healing', 'deliverance', living in community, music and unity. The locus of renewal also expanded from personal 'encounter' with the Spirit to the parish setting and growing in unity.

A large number and variety of speakers serviced the Christchurch renewal in the period up to 1977. At least sixty known ministries visited in the decade 1966 to 1976. They represented a cross-section of churches, doctrinal interests and teaching foci and were frequently non-sectarian in the messages they preached. The wide ethos of CAM was a check against obvious sectarian bias, although at the Summer Schools careful provision was made for observing Roman Catholic distinctives. The speakers represented a mix of Protestant and Catholic, pentecostal and charismatic, lay and ordained persons. Messages on unity lent considerable support to the already active ecumenism being promoted by local renewal leaders.

The characteristics of the visiting speakers and conferences suggests three phases of renewal: a 'rediscovery' phase in the late 1960s where the initial enthusiasm and energy centred around Spirit baptism, testimonies from those affected and apologia being issued from teachers and leaders; a second phase in the early 1970s where these emphases were augmented by teaching on new areas such as 'healing', 'deliverance', and 'prophecy'; and thirdly, by the mid-

1970s, a phase where a 'higher' unity in the Spirit was sought and facilitated by specialist activities and meetings. This peak of cohesion may be referred to as the 'unity in diversity' phase which saw a genuine ecumenism and virtual dissolving of sectarian differences in the quest for 'more of the Spirit'. This overriding goal meant premillennial excesses were largely contained in Christchurch, as were preoccupations with aspects such as 'healing' and 'deliverance'.

Visiting speakers and the myriad of conferences, retreats, camps and other meetings that ensued as a result of their presence, played a decisive role in the development of the charismatic renewal in Christchurch.

The apogee of unity and relative absence of serious problems, however, was not to last. The late 1970s and early-mid-1980s were years of transition. It is to these developments the attention now turns.

Chapter 8

'A new climate of sobriety'[1] - The Contours of Renewal 1978-1985

This final chapter traces the contours of change in the Christchurch renewal up to 1985. From the height of its organisational unity in the mid-1970s, the renewal lost momentum in the early eighties. An interplay of external factors (related to wider cultural change and the international renewal), and local factors (developments within the city), facilitated a relative decline by the mid-1980s. Despite much continued activity and new ministry foci, the renewal became fragmented.

The Christchurch scene became more settled with the emergence of denominational movements; the renewal was also assuming a normative character in many churches. While this may have been the goal of early advocates, when it eventuated much of the tension which had made the cause worth contending for, diminished.

The chapter begins with an overview of the early 1980s and traces the organisational and theological issues affecting renewal. It is evident that major international debates, the discipleship controversy, for example, were not strongly felt in Christchurch. The strong ecumenism of the mid-seventies was not quickly lost and the residual energy of that period sustained the local renewal for some time. Gradually, however, the focus became more indistinct, and, social and political realities began to encroach upon it meaning the renewal of the 1980s was very different to that of a decade before.

The 1980s were turbulent years of transformation in New Zealand society. The tendrils of change also affected religious constituencies, including both conservatives and liberals. It became evident that charismatics could no longer enjoy the luxury of a 'personal faith' which ignored engagement with the political world. These issues are discussed, as are the new forms of charismatic

[1] Michael Harper 1980, see 8.2.1, p. 286.

expression that appeared in this period. A survey of the Christchurch scene in 1985 and assessment of the renewal and its legacy, including some comment and description of the present situation, complete the chapter.

8.1. The Changing Charismata

8.1.1. Developments to 1984

Many of the activities characterising the Christchurch renewal in its growth phases were maintained into the 1980s. The number and quality of overseas speakers, for example, continued,[2] as did many para-church events and inter-denominational celebrations. Slowly however, a more reflective phase set in in the 1980s. Several variables coalesced at that juncture to bring this about—no single factor brought sudden or sweeping change.

One important issue which surfaced in the United States in the mid-1970s was the 'discipleship controversy' (also known as the 'shepherding movement'). This exposed weaknesses in pentecostal and charismatic understandings of authority, submission and accountability. It did not however, conspicuously affect the Christchurch scene, but it did occur at a sensitive time for pentecostal churches in New Zealand.[3]

A group of pastors known by the sobriquet 'the Fort Lauderdale Five'—Derek Prince, Bernard ('Bob') Mumford, Charles Simpson, Don Basham and Ern Baxter—were central to the controversy.[4] Experience had shown that the natural enthusiasm of charismatics easily led to independence from recognised authority. Mumford, for example, in his book *The Problem of Doing Your Own*

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[2] Among the 'first-tier' overseas pentecostal and charismatic leaders to visit from 1977 onwards were: author and teacher De Vern Fromke, ('Brother') A. S. Worley (both in March 1978), Dr Everett ('Terry') Fullam, the prominent Episcopalian charismatic (August 1978 and a return visit in August 1979), Harald Bredesen, the American Lutheran (January 1979); return visits from Ern Baxter (January 1980), Robert Frost (March 1980) and David Watson (September 1980). Derek Prince also returned after a long absence (December 1984-January 1985).

[3] Organisational changes within pentecostal churches led to the formation of the Associated Pentecostal Churches of New Zealand in 1975. The controversy had particular relevance for the independents, many of whom valued their autonomy as pastoral leaders. See Knowles, 'Some Aspects', pp. 229-32.

[4] These leaders were involved in Christian Growth Ministries (CGM) based in Fort Lauderdale. See Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 783-84. Beginning with Prince in 1981, all five subsequently rejected the submission-authority teachings.

Thing (1973) referred to this as 'lawlessness', and argued that obedience to God-ordained authority was central to authentic Christian living.[5] The emphasis on 'submission', however, could lead to blind obedience and the virtual deification of a leader's authority. The discipleship teaching attempted to counter the tendency for charismatics to operate independently of recognised authority. For many, regular church experience had become restraining and inadequate, which led to impatience and schism.[6]

The controversy was not a major issue in Christchurch for at least two reasons. Firstly, the city renewal had always stood in support of local churches and recognised authority. This began with Morrow's insistence in the 'Adullam's Cave' years to 'go back to your own church', and it continued in *Logos* articles and at the CAM Summer Schools where the parish (and by implication, the minister or pastor) was the strategic locus of change.

Secondly, the number of gathered charismatic communities in Christchurch was relatively small and, where they did exist, as in the case of the Sydenham AOG communities of the early 1970s, they tended to remain firmly aligned to the local church for teaching. Those insistent on 'doing their own thing' were groups like the Cooperites and the Full Gospel Mission (also known as Camp David). Their separateness was emphasised by the isolation of their communities in country districts.[7] The mainstream renewal had a centripetal force directed towards building up local churches. The Unity Singers, for example, in many ways approximated the structure of a House Church, but its expressed aim was to minister to the churches without undermining denominational loyalties.[8] Similarly, leaders of the charismatically-inclined 'house churches' (sic) at St. John's Anglican Church in Rangiora evidently had a clear understanding of where

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[5] See Knowles, 'Some Aspects', pp. 220-28 for more on how the controversy affected developments in New Zealand Pentecostalism, particularly the independents.

[6] A similar trend emerged in Britain with the 'House Church movement' in the 1970s, where the focus was on a restoration of the New Testament Church. 'House church', can be confusing. In Britain it tended to mean a separate and alternative (non-denominational) form of meeting to the established church, but could also be a synonym for 'home group' in other settings, see Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 450-51.

[7] Neville Cooper, an Australian evangelist, had formerly worked with Morrow, but because of its exclusivity, the Cust Community was not strictly aligned to the local charismatic renewal; neither was 'Camp David' (at Waipara), which was established in 1972 by Douglas Metcalf, the self-styled 'bishop' of the community.

[8] Chris Wyatt, telephone interview, 27 February 2003. Wyatt was the former leader of the Unity Singers.

these groups stood in relation to the wider parish, and in particular, the Sunday services. It was reported to the wider congregation in May 1980 that:

> Our house churches will never take over from the Sunday worship. That remains our primary place of obedience. But they will remain an indispensable place to promote growth amongst believers, and as a place of outreach and evangelism. Already this Lent, 30 "outsiders" have been drawn in to the "Know Jesus" course. Our normal parish congregation is too big to be the church in its essential quality. It has a function, and a glorious one, as a cathedral gathering place of the little congregations of which it should be made up.[9]

These clear lines of demarcation and responsibility reflect the success CAM and other groups had in grounding renewal in churches and in the process, anticipating and addressing the problem areas through structured teaching. An example where tensions were successfully dealt with was Spreydon Baptist. Murray Robertson instituted 'house churches' in the late 1970s and later in the mid 1980s, 'area congregations'.[10] Interestingly however, the large Sunday meetings continued. Competent leadership (as in these ventures) ensured a measure of accountability and oversight, but encouraged relative autonomy as well; invariably however, this was a fine balance. The strong leadership of the city renewal tended to pre-empt and accommodate tensions of this nature before they materialised into conflict—not always, but usually.

The theological basis of renewal was another issue causing disquiet among both charismatics and non-charismatics in the late 1970s. This had been present from the beginning—inheriting as the renewal did, complex presuppositions from pentecostalism—but the sheer excitement of testimony and changed lives following an 'encounter with the Spirit' tended to eschew critique in the early years of renewal. Serious reflection from within started to appear in Smail's *Reflected Glory* in 1975, and four years later in Harper's, *This Is The Day*. Harper's book was less theological, but certainly candid in revealing the author's growing disenchantment. Evangelicals too, such as James Packer later examined renewal, albeit less sympathetically in *Keep In Step With The Spirit*, in 1984.[11]

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[9] From St. John's Rangiora Parish News, May 1980, and cited here in *Advance*, June 1980, p. 7.

[10] See 8.1.2, p. 277.

[11] A later and less charitable book was John MacArthur's *Charismatic Chaos*. He concludes (p. 359): 'The only appropriate response is and has always been a return to the Word of God. ...Unfortunately as we have seen so often, the charismatic movement tends to turn people inward, toward mysticism and subjectivity, and away from the Word of God'. Packer visited Christchurch in September 1978. He spoke on the 'Trends in Today's Church'

These and other works will be considered in 8.1.3 but the point is that this broader shift amongst scholars and commentators towards critical appraisal appeared in the late seventies and accelerated throughout the 1980s. It had ripple effects throughout charismatic communities because people like Harper and Smail had previously been so authoritative and influential in the world-wide renewal.[12] It also allowed the airing of issues and differences that had always existed, but now publicly, and what followed, predictably, was a period in which charismatics became self-conscious of the need to synthesise their experience with the theology of their ecclesiastical settings.

Closer to New Zealand, the prominent Methodist charismatic and founder of the Temple Trust in Australia, Alan Langstaff, allegedly announced (in 1979) that the charismatic renewal had finished.[13] His disillusionment and resignation from the Trust were explained by one commentator in their wider context:

> The year 1979 [however] seems to have been the watershed. From a tiny, insignificant movement, in ten years the charismatic renewal had grown to involve tens of thousands of people across the country, throwing up its own structures and crossing denominational boundaries with seeming impunity. Several influences seem to have come together to bring about a sudden levelling off (if not decline) in the movement's fortunes. In the first place it began to take on an organisational form within the denominations, and so became a target for party politics. In 1978, prior to the Lambeth Conference, Michael Harper organised the Canterbury Conference, which resulted in the formation of Anglican Renewal Ministries (1981), and

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(*The Press*, 26 August 1978, p. 22), but it is not known if his views on charismatic renewal were aired on that occasion. The writer also heard MacArthur in Christchurch (circa 1999) speaking on 'Spiritual Maturity'. While no direct reference was made to the renewal, he did emphasise that maturity was not a function of experience or emotion.

[12] Both had visited New Zealand (see 7.1.2. pp. 236-38 for more on Harper, and 5.2.2, p. 159, and 7.2.3. pp. 255-56, for more on Smail). In addition, Ray Muller had spent a year at the Fountain Trust in the early 1970s. See Bolitho, 'In this World', p. 112. CAM records indicate a personal and on-going correspondence between Harper and Smail, and Muller and Cecil Marshall.

[13] This is cited in a 1993 working paper prepared for the Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity (CSAC, series 1, No. 14), no stated author, Robert Menzies College, Macquarie Centre, Macquarie University, October 1993, p. 8. The Temple Trust was founded in 1972 and had similar goals and methods to CAM. It published a bi-monthly magazine, *Vision*, the first issue of which appeared in January-February 1974. See Geoff Waugh, 'The Charismatic Movement in Australia', *Pneuma*, vol. 16, No. 2, Fall 1994, p. 188. Langstaff visited Christchurch on at least three occasions: in September 1974 at the Revival Fellowship; in October 1978 when he spoke at Opawa Methodist, Durham Street Methodist, Wainoni Methodist and attended a charismatic mass at the Catholic Cathedral, and again in August 1979 at Opawa Methodist. See *The Press*, 7 September 1974, p. 20, 21 October 1978, p. 16, and 25 August 1979, p. 25.

> Sharing Our Ministries Abroad [SOMA, 1984], organisations which quickly opened branches around the world, including Australia and New Zealand.[14]

These developments and the reaction in Australia were not echoed in the New Zealand experience, including, and perhaps, especially, in Christchurch. The residual momentum of the mid-1970s continued although the ripples of what was happening elsewhere slowly began to affect the Christchurch scene, and with a similar result, but it was not sudden as suggested above.

A more discernible change affecting the renewal was the proliferation of 'New Age' teachings and the appearance of a 'prosperity gospel'.[15] While Transcendental Mediatation had appeared in the 'hippie' era of the early 1970s, other practices such as Biomeditation,[16] Tai Chi,[17] Naturopathy and Yoga[18] belonged to a later period and reflected the growing acceptance of non-Christian supernaturalism. Churches on the periphery of established pentecostalism also appeared, including the Oneness (Unitarian) Pentecostals,[19] the Branhamites,[20] and the 'New Thought' prosperity teaching of Ron Reeves.

By the late 1960s Reeves was offering an exclusive type of hyper-pentecostalism emphasising healing and other miracles.[21] The 'Church of Truth (New Thought)' which he led was being advertised by 1968 but was probably formed prior to that date. One promotion boasted it was 'destined to [offer] the teaching to

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[14] CSAC paper, 1993, p. 8. Another Australian source of charismatic teaching was also asking at this time; "Does the Charismatic Movement provide Christians with Proper Foundations?" *Restore,* Vol. 9, No. 10, November 1979, p. 4. *Restore* was the final metamorphosis of *Logos*.

[15] 'New Age' is an umbrella term for modern forms of ancient belief, often with roots in Hindu, Egyptian, Confucian and Wicca or Witchcraft sects. Conservative Christians, including pentecostals and charismatics, tended to dismiss these beliefs as 'pagan'. More difficult to discern however, are the so-called 'prosperity' teachings. These rest on a hyper-faith that exceeds even 'traditional' charismatic claims; God will prosper—usually in financial or material ways—those who were obedient to certain teachers and 'faith' prescriptions.

[16] A 'Biomeditation and self-help workshop' in 1982 was advertised as 'an opportunity to learn and practice deep relaxation and self-health skills using biofeedback instruments' (*The Press,* 23 July 1982, p. 23).

[17] Meetings advertising Tai Chi, an ancient Chinese form of relaxation, were evident from at least mid-1985 (*ibid.,* 19 June 1985, p. 15).

[18] By 1985 the YWCA offered courses in naturopathy, stress management, assertiveness training, and yoga (see *The Press,* 13 May 1985, p. 8).

[19] A group had existed in Christchurch since early 1977 (*The Press,* 5 March 1977, p. 23).

[20] The Branhamite presence date from May 1977 (*ibid.,* 28 May 1977, p. 53), but became the Canterbury Bible Way by early 1980 (*The Press,* 15 March 1980, p. 15).

[21] Detail of Reeves's ministry is not readily available but Max Palmer, a long-time observer recalled these points. Telephone comment to the writer, 1 March 2003.

meet the spiritual needs of man for this age.'[22] More specifically, in 1984, he was claiming:

> You can have a miracle! There is excitement in our services as people receive their miracle from God in the midst of financial problems, sickness, unemployment and heartache—Friends, God loves you and has miracles for you! If you need a miracle come this Sunday and learn how![23]

This use of prescribed methods, hyper-faith and the promise of miracles were beyond what most 'Spirit-filled' believers would accept.[24] Reeves also operated outside any network or pastors' fraternal.[25]

The renewal was becoming less clearly defined as other groups were teaching about and practising healing, including 'emotional wholeness' and related dimensions of 'self discovery' and counselling. New Age, fringe pentecostal and pseudo-scientific techniques had become more accepted and key renewal practices were now being addressed by alternative groups. Even long-established sects such as Christian Science were able to exploit a new awareness of and interest in 'spiritual healing'.[26]

8.1.2. Organisational Changes

Along with expanded understandings of 'healing' and 'God's provision', a number of organisational changes were also occurring. There was general move towards an institutionalising of the *charismata*, including the independent pentecostals. This blunted radicalism and redirected energy towards more mundane issues of management and administration. The tendency among pentecostals and early charismatics was to try and dispense with structure, but some sort of order—often highly patterned and predictable—inevitably eventuated, and large churches had a greater need for effective systems of clerical (sic) and financial organisation.

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[22] *The Press*, 4 May 1968, p. 20.
[23] *Ibid.*, 4 February 1984, p. 27.
[24] Reeves's longevity in ministry is almost as remarkable as his claims. Recent advertisements (from 2001-02) claim 'established 43 years', meaning his work in the city dates from the late 1950s. A son, Darryl was appointed assistant pastor at Sydenham AOG in December 1977, but allegedly began preaching a prosperity gospel and lasted only one year in the role (Margaret Bijl, telephone interview, 2 May 2002).
[25] Palmer, telephone interview, 1 March 2003.
[26] See for example, 'The Logical Certainty of Christian Science healing', *The Press*, 17 November 1984, p. 6.

Developments at the New Life Centre demonstrate these trends. The shift to Majestic House between 1978 and 1980 was justified by the need for more space and better facilities, but it was a step towards institutionalism as well. Also, the new auditorium was arguably less suited to Morrow's style and preference to minister directly among the congregation.[27] The establishment of an eldership brought some formality, but the relationship with the outreach churches in the early 1980s remained fluid; in line with the autonomy and historical practice of the New Life 'stream', they tended to be largely independent. The difficulty of replacing leaders who had built up viable constituencies (David Ravenhill, Donald Cowey and Gordon Rosewall, for example), meant that many outreaches were quietly absorbed into the 'mother' church in the central city. This gravitational pull slowed the momentum in the suburbs and helped create a more centralised institutional structure within the church itself.

At Spreydon Baptist Church, however, the vitality of the renewal was one element channelled into a new strategy of mission. This routinising of charisma there was very deliberate and part of more sweeping organisational change in the mid and late 1970s.

Under Murray Robertson's leadership, Spreydon Baptist was not strictly a 'card-carrying' charismatic church, but it had incorporated aspects of renewal, most notably the approach to 'worship' (music) and a modified version of the 'house church' idea. The charismatic influence was clear when Robertson admitted that 'the reason the Apostle Paul's churches grew, was because he trusted the Holy Spirit in the life of his converts, and we do not. ...'[28]

> So [he continues] we took a deep breath, and closed down most of the organisations that had accumulated during the 100 years that our church had been in existence. We re-formed the church around six groups, that we initially called "house churches". We called the leaders of these groups 'pastors', and laid hands of them [sic] setting them aside for ministry. We encouraged them to baptise their converts, take communion, welcome new members, and so on. ...we let the groups grow as large as the

[27] See also 4.3.1, p. 118.

[28] Murray Roberston, 'Twenty Five Years and Three Lessons Later', pamphlet, n.d., circa 1995. This was first published in 1994.

> leader's house would allow, and subdivided them within the house into cells.
>
> Over the next decade we went through a remarkable period of growth. By the mid-1980s we had grown into a community of around 1,200 worshippers, and had started another congregation of about two hundred. ...We had moved significantly into the charismatic renewal in the years leading up to it. Also Marj and I stayed throughout the period. A decade later, the movement was running out of steam.[29]

Spreydon Baptist was responsive to changing needs; an approach that ensured continued and effective ministry throughout the 1980s. The 'area congregations' were an extension of this and similar to, although more structured, than the New Life outreach churches. Significantly, Robertson adds:

> Theologically the church was changing shape also. We had started off as an evangelical church, became charismatic as well, and now we were embracing the justice dimensions of the gospel. I can see now that often we have put asunder what God has joined together. I believe that following the example of Jesus, our experiencing the anointing of the Spirit should also lead to bringing good news to the poor.[30]

In other words, even when it found expression in a parish, renewal was not an end in itself and needed a theology of social engagement if it was to be truly enduring and effective. This was not however, generally understood or appreciated. The sustained foci of personal renewal and testimony in the early years, and CAM's later emphasis on parish renewal tended to overlook the 'justice' dimension to which Robertson alluded. The very public moral debates of the 1980s and the response from charismatics further exposed this weakness.[31]

Significant changes were also occurring at the para-church level of the city renewal. Group 70 voluntarily disbanded in 1978. An evening 'Eucharistic Service of Thanksgiving to mark the closing of Group 70' was held at St. Mary's in Addington on 15 June.[32] There was a feeling among members that the group's primary purpose of facilitating renewal had been achieved; 'There were more

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[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] See below 8.2.2, pp. 294-97, and 8.3.1, pp. 301-06.
[32] *The Press*, 10 June 1978, p. 20. St. Mary's had been the base for Group 70 when it moved from the Anglican Cathedral some years before.

and more old people, the same people attending...we heard clearly about the time to close down and join with other members in the Body'.[33]

However in light of subsequent issues, the unifying and networking role of Group 70, or a reconstituted group with similar goals, was critical at this juncture. Given that prayer had always been considered a vital component of the renewal, and that international leaders were starting to seek new discernment and direction, there was a heightened, not diminished role for such a body. The demise of Group 70 also removed an important and established avenue for inter-denominational co-operation. The Related Christian Communities and Lamb of God groups[34] continued to provide prayer support, as did a ministers' fraternal, the 'Thursday Club',[35] but the continuity, knowledge and experience of Group 70 which had proved so beneficial in the earlier phase of renewal, was now lost. The ministers' and pastors' group reflected the evolving emphasis on clerical leadership of the parish renewal, whereas Group 70 had also been open to lay people.

By 1983 the Unity Singers also sensed they had fulfilled their purpose and disbanded. One of the leaders, Chris Wyatt, recalls that:

> There were no real difficulties at all, just this sense that our time had come. It was harder for us to get motivated and there weren't that many calls for us to go out to churches and minister...We grew with the renewal, but we also declined when it declined. We'd go into churches and help with music seminars, but once we had done our bit, our role in parish-based seminars wasn't so great. ...Also, as time went on, more and more of leaders' time in parishes was being devoted to 'putting out fires' [dealing with problems] and managing their own churches. Places like Spreydon [Baptist] developed their own identity and style as 'alive' churches. The

[33] Interview with Barbara Butler, 2 September 1997.

[34] The Related Christian Communities was an ecumenical group but with strong links to the national Catholic Charismatic Renewal (CCR) based in Petone. By 1982 CCR had issued a booklet which noted that, 'a ready sharing of prayer with other Christian peoples' was important, but, '...the final characteristic of CCR must be its unquestioned loyalty to the Catholic tradition and to the Hierarchy. For example, Mary is honoured as the First Charismatic (after Jesus)...' 'What is the Catholic Charismatic Renewal?' (Petone, Wellington: CCR Services, n.d., circa 1982), see pp. 5 and 7. The Lamb of God Covenant Community was a local CCR group. It was described as 'an ecumenical Christian community', but drew strong support from the Redemptorist priests (notably Roger Foley) and Anglicans. See Related Christian Communities Newsletter, No. 8, September 1984.

[35] This was an unofficial title for ministers' and pastors' fraternal active from the mid-1970s. Russell James who arrived in Christchurch in 1975 recalled that, 'I became involved in a ministers' group on a monthly basis...It was comprised of Peter and Anne Morrow, Murray and Marj Robertson, Gerald and Jan Tisch from St. John's, Woolston, Arnold and Shelly Highet from Wainoni Methodist, and ourselves—there were five of us, couples. That was a major time of ministerial support, encouragement and learning from one another'. James interview, 9 August 1997.

> Unity Singers just quietly dissolved, there was no bitterness or anything; we were just meeting less and less frequently, previously we were very close, but the need became less, ...[36]

This represents, in outline, the changes affecting the city renewal. The initiative now lay with the maturing of parish renewal, and this, understandably, absorbed much effort; whereas previously, the advent of the phenomenon created the need for much new teaching, exposure to ideas and the mutual support of others. These were features of the mid-1970s and remained no less important in the 1980s, but the mechanics of implementing renewal and managing it to maturity in the parish setting, tended, as Wyatt points out, to diminish the need for and reliance on certain para-church groups. The normative and institutional character the renewal was beginning to adopt was also diminishing the sense of radicalism first evident in the 1960s.

8.1.3. Theological Concerns

From the start charismatic renewal relied heavily on experience, testimony and the defining practices of tongues and Spirit baptism. Like traditional pentecostals, this rested on a dualism of cognition and emotion ('head' and 'heart') with the latter predominating due to the almost cathartic release that often accompanied *glossolalia*. Experience provided the criterion of truth since it was *real*, at least in a subjective and empirical sense of 'knowing'. Such claims however, provided no basis for epistemologically-determined categories of 'truth'.

By 1984, the highly-respected Lutheran charismatic, Larry Christenson, was raising this very issue when he said: 'The issue we must come to grips with in regard to a world view is that of epistemology. Epistemology has to do with acquiring and validating knowledge. In other words, "How do I come into possession of valid knowledge?" More simply, "How do I know what I know?" '[37]

Epistemological concerns were accompanied by a distrust of intellectual interpretation. Immersion in such study, it was widely believed in the early years

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[36] Chris Wyatt, telephone interview, 28 February 2003.
[37] Larry Christenson, 'Is your mind at war with God?', *Restore,* November 1984, p. 27.

would lead to deception and 'Babylonianism' which impeded the Spirit's 'flow'.[38] Tom Smail later recalled the intensity of these beliefs:

> ...in the mid-1970s, in my early days with the Fountain Trust, if you said the word 'theology' in a gathering of charismatic clergy, the chief reaction would be a scornful titter, as if they were saying 'Now that we have been renewed in the Spirit, we do not need to bother with that sort of thing any more'.[39]

Smail's resignation from the Trust, his tiredness after years of international travel promoting the renewal, and the need for a clear theology first articulated in *Reflected Glory*, brought about a period of personal reflection at the end of the 1970s. As a Reformed and Barthian thinker, he accorded theology a much higher place than was typical among charismatics. His former Trust colleague, Harper, was equally passionate about problems facing the renewal, but Harper's critique was more pragmatic. In 1979 he wrote that:

> Quite obviously all is not well in the charismatic camp. Of course it never has been, and, without being unduly pessimistic, it never will be. But that does not mean we can do nothing about it. The critics of the charismatic renewal do not always agree as to the grounds of their criticisms. However one major line of attack has always been its theology. Many times we have been told 'the charismatic renewal has produced no theology'. Professor Walter Hollenweger has often said, ...'what Pentecostals do is of far more significance than what they teach'. ...the effects are magnificent, but the theology is deplorable. ...I would be the first to agree with the critics that charismatics are not at their best in theological argument, and their dialectic is distinctly hairy at times.[40]

Looking back many years later, Smail expressed it more succinctly:

> Dr James Packer once described the charismatic renewal as a movement looking for a theology. If he had said that it was a movement desperately in *need* of a theology, I would have agreed with him straight away—but, *looking* for a theology, how I wish it were true![41]

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[38] Rasik Ranchord, an early leader of the Revival Fellowship, adds that 'many early pentecostals frowned upon higher studies because they were considered to develop the carnal mind'. Ranchord interview, 26 April 2001.

[39] Cited in Middlemiss, *Interpreting Charismatic Experience*, p. 45. 'The impatience with theology [he elaborates] is very easy to understand. ...part of my own preparation for renewal in the Spirit was to allow myself to be brought to a point where theological activity was for a time put into suspense; I stopped thinking about God in order that I could with an open heart and mind meet him and let him begin to liberate me by his Spirit'. Tom Smail, Andrew Walker, and Nigel Wright, *Charismatic Renewal—The Search for a Theology* (London: Gospel and Culture, 1995), p. 50.

[40] Michael Harper, *This is the Day—A Fresh Look at Christian Unity* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), p. 55.

[41] Smail et al., *Charismatic Renewal,* p. 49, emphasis in original.

The renewal presumed experience to be 'untheological'. However, as with the desire to reject formal structure, there was always *some expression of theology* in evidence—but often not a very adequate one. Until this juncture, serious issues of epistemology and theology and the need to bring them together in a coherent charismatic interpretation had not been raised. When the attempt was made the result was a sobriety which dampened enthusiasm, encouraged contemplation and, at least implicitly, issued an exegetical challenge to serious charismatic believers to re-examine the Scriptures in search of theological first principles.

For some, this search altered premillennial convictions, particularly in response to the social and political issues of the 1980s. Howard Carter, resident in Australia since 1968, was a former New Zealander and Baptist minister.[42] He became editor of *Restore* magazine—the ultimate successor to *Logos.* Under Carter's direction, *Restore* adopted a postmillennial eschatology mainly due to his close association with the former discipleship leaders and their subsequent reflections on the direction of the charismatic renewal. The transcript of an interview with Baxter, Basham, Mumford, and Simpson appeared in the November 1984 issue of *Restore.* The article suggested a shift was needed towards an understanding of renewal within a wider *kingdom* theology, as Baxter explains:

> ...I hope the Church doesn't make the mistake that for over fifty years I've observed being made again and again, and that is to make these supernatural manifestations an end in themselves. When Jesus performed miracles, it was in view of getting the attention of the people so that he could say the things the Father wanted Him to say. So many times we preach healing and people are helped and touched and healed, but we don't take advantage of the platform that it provides for us to say what God really wants said. Jesus used the miracles to declare the Kingdom, and we need to do the same.[43]

In other words, charismatic 'blessings' were only the beginning—the *real* work was then to be attended to. Charles Simpson then added his thoughts on the relationship to the wider kingdom:

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[42] Carter held an L.Th. from the Melbourne College of Divinity but relied heavily on the former discipleship teachers. He ministered in Baptist churches in New Zealand from 1962 until moving to Australia and working for the Logos Foundation. He later moved to Vancouver, Canada.

[43] 'Forum', *Restore,* November 1984, p. 25.

> In a way, all of us went into the Charismatic movement without being prepared. As a result, we watched people being saved and filled with the Spirit and saw great things happening, but all without a foundation and without a place to go. ...I view these last ten years [1974-84] as preparation. They have been a platform for the declaration of the Kingdom of God that encompasses its supernatural aspects.[44]

This rediscovered mandate to redeem all of creation including contemporary culture greatly expanded the boundaries of renewal. It was fuelled by an increased awareness of 'secularism and moral decay', as well as inadequacies within charismatic belief and practice. As a result, Carter also began to embrace a more conspicuous postmillennial and reconstructionist position—fixing up social structures according to God's theonomy was seen as the solution. Christ will return to earth only after the Spirit has empowered the church to advance Christ's kingdom in time and history. Accordingly, he printed an increasing amount of material from Rousas Rushdoony, president of the American Chalcedon Foundation.[45] Accommodating a Calvinist emphasis on the sovereignty of God as proclaimed by Rushdoony is an example of how the renewal was adapting to a new era.

Within the Christchurch scene however, these developments, while not entirely remote,[46] combined with local changes to slow the impetus and undermine confidence. Building the kingdom was a broader and much more challenging task than defending the use of tongues. It was not exclusive of charismatic phenomena, but it called for a level of theological comprehension that could no longer be ignored. As mentioned, Spreydon Baptist under Robertson's leadership was able to seize the initiative and move forward with a new congregational model. A contextual New Zealand response to the kingdom teaching was later provided by Brian Hathaway, a pastor at the Te Atatu Bible Chapel, an Open Brethren Assembly in the western suburbs of Auckland. This Assembly had experienced charismatic renewal, but in the 1980s Hathaway—like many others throughout the renewal—was asking 'where to now?' Or, in his own words:

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[44] *Ibid.*

[45] See for example, 'Modern Morality—Tampering with God's Law', *Restore,* December 1981, pp. 29-43; 'The Attack against the Family', January-February 1983, pp. 14-16, and, 'A Blocked or Open Future?', September 1983, pp. 10-15.

[46] Although predominantly Australian, 30.5 percent of *Restore*'s readership in January 1982 were New Zealanders. This figure exceeded any individual Australian state, the closest being New South Wales, 23

> Over the past 25 years have seen a genuine work of renewal by the Holy Spirit. Many have come to faith in Christ. People have been filled with the Spirit. Congregations have grown. Spiritual gifts have operated and new expressions of worship have invigorated once lifeless services. The power of God has been seen among His people, and for many there has been a return to prayer and a love for the study of the Word of God. For all this, we must be grateful to God but one is forced to ask the question—'To what ultimate end has all this occurred?' 'Is it just to bring new life to the local congregation?' 'Was this renewal meant to be encapsulated within the four walls of the local church or did God have a Kingdom purpose in mind?'[47]

Clearly this was shaping up as the next, more encompassing challenge facing charismatic leaders and congregations. But in Christchurch there were pockets of forward momentum for the 'traditional' renewal as well. Hornby Presbyterian, for example, after Robert Yule's charismatic encounter in 1981 was absorbed with parish renewal and the development of an evangelical-charismatic ethos. Again this demonstrates the importance of a committed parish leader in making renewal work, despite the time lag from the frenetic period of activity in the city and the emerging influence of kingdom theology.

A strong ecumenism persisted in Christchurch, but the overall consistency and unity of the local renewal was ebbing and evolving into new forms. The changing fortunes of CAM and the rise of denominational renewal movements were further factors adding to the fragmentation.

8.2. The Ebbing Momentum

8.2.1. CAM and Denominational Renewal Movements

The early eighties were difficult years for CAM as it struggled to remain a viable national organisation. Financially, organisationally and in terms of personnel it was proving difficult to maintain the level of service to the New Zealand renewal that it had provided in the mid-1970s.

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percent, see January-February 1982, p. 25. Actual distribution numbers were not shown, but focused efforts to reach 1,500 new readers suggests several thousand copies per month.

[47] Brian Hathaway, *Beyond Renewal—The Kingdom of God* (Milton Keynes: Word (UK), 1990), pp. 167-68.

CAM required sustained income if it was going to attract overseas speakers and maintain the frequency and quality of programmes. Real financial problems were being experienced from mid-1982 when special council meetings were held.[48] In response, ex-Christchurch cleric David Harper (who had been 'called' to CAM in March 1981), wrote a paper, '1984—The Beginning of a New Approach'. In this, he suggested that the regional councils should be disbanded.[49]

In the early 1980s CAM was also beginning to face competition both from denominational renewal movements, and also, as early as 1978, an Auckland-based group with similar goals. As a mentor to the movement, Michael Harper was kept informed of most major developments, and in November of that year, Cecil Marshall wrote to him noting that CAM was facing:

> ...a real challenge from the Auckland scene, in that they want to begin a new Trust with fairly similar aims to Christian Advance, but [with] a wider basis according to them. ...So, we are faced with expanding our operations, which we know is vitally necessary at this time, or face the competition from another Trust that will be essentially the same thing.[50]

Harper replied the following week commenting:

> I am sorry to hear about the difficulties with the Temple Trust [Australia], ...I do hope you will be able to keep united in New Zealand. I would have thought it a tragic thing if there was another organisation set up as well as Christian Advance. I do hope you will be able to expand enough to be able to absorb the Auckland group also. ...I hope that [the new Trust] could be contained within Christian Advance rather than see the setting up of something else in New Zealand.[51]

In the event, however, the new Trust did form and the result was Dove Ministries headed by Auckland lawyer Bill Subritzky.

Another source of teaching and support for the renewal came from FGBMFI. From its beginnings in New Zealand in 1969, twelve chapters were formed in the first year, and by 1991, there were 76 chapters with a national membership

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[48] See file 5/1/5, CAM records.
[49] See CAM records. These changes warrant full analysis but only an overview is provided here to illustrate the problems facing the key service organisation of the national renewal. It should be noted too, that David Harper was not related to Michael Harper.
[50] CAM records, 1 November 1978.
[51] CAM records, 8 November 1978.

averaging 1,500 between 1986 and 1990.[52] FGBMFI saw itself as occupying a 'seed-sowing' role, complementing the work of the churches; as such, it was a medium well suited to advance the renewal and provide a point of connection with pentecostals. It also had the advantage of a world-wide network and access to regular international speakers. The number of chapters also grew rapidly in Christchurch during the 1970s.[53] In a letter to Morrow in June 1979, the director of the Integrity Centre, Neville Rush, noted that 'FGBMFI are taking the initiative in greater measure now'.[54] This accurately reflected the success of the convention held in the Town Hall a fortnight before.[55] One of the organisers, Warren Smith, noted that this event was 'full all weekend with over 2,500 people in attendance'.[56]

Clearly, then, the initiative was moving away from CAM and towards other groups. The dissolution of the Fountain and Temple Trusts were ominous developments, and the expansion Marshall and Harper were wanting, although desirable, looked increasingly unlikely as the 1980s progressed. Harper's own paper, *Charismatic Crisis*, published in 1980, hardly inspired confidence. This was a candid (albeit, subjective) account of where the renewal had been, where it was presently at, and where Harper thought it might be heading.

He begins on a point of difference with Smail (with whom he was now at odds), but then talks of the future and the need to learn from the past:

> The Charismatic Renewal is experiencing a crisis of confidence. The euthanasia of the Fountain Trust in 1980 has shaken many people who had looked to it for so many years for encouragement and support. There are some, including a former Director of the Fountain Trust, Rev. Thomas Smail, who believe that the Charismatic Renewal has shot its bolt. ...Mr. Smail has written critically of the renewal and sees it as something which is rapidly disappearing. **But for the vast majority of church people the party is not over because it has not yet begun.** And for those who have only recently experienced the first taste of Charismatic Renewal it is disheartening to be told they are too late to benefit from it.

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[52] Bolitho, 'In This World', p. 101.
[53] Warren Smith, telephone interview, 12 March 2001.
[54] Personal correspondence from Neville Rush to Peter Morrow, 14 June 1979, New Life records.
[55] See *The Press*, 12 May 1979, p. 23.
[56] Warren Smith, telephone interview, 12 March 2001. Smith and Anne Morrow's brother, Barry Botherway, organised the 1979 FGBMFI Convention and also, 'Good News 80', in February 1980. Smith telephone interview, 23 January 2003.

> But most leaders I have spoken to about this do not share Mr. Smail's pessimism, although they would feel that a chapter has ended and a new chapter has begun...This is not a time for nostalgia. It could have been better, but equally it could have been much worse. The future beckons us on and we must move in the Spirit into the 80's if we are to be obedient and fruitful. ...Renewal in any case is something which can never be said to end. The Church is constantly in need of it. And if anyone really believes that **in practice** the Church is 'charismatic' even in the vaguest sense, one can only say, "You must be joking". Most churches have barely begun to be 'charismatic'. We all have a long way to go.[57]

He goes on to describe 1975 as a 'watershed' largely brought about by the discipleship controversy, which it was argued, was a catalyst for major change:

> ...**It is very important for us to grasp that what the charismatics were experiencing in terms of Christian unity was not true ecumenism but a new form of inter-denominationalism such as has been a prominent feature of Evangelicalism for more than a century.** ...
>
> We have looked [he continues] at the three main features of the Charismatic Renewal prior to 1975. It was the testimony era and the golden age of the spiritual mavericks—a kind of spiritual laissez-faire. It produced a new brand of inter-denominationalism to rival evangelicalism, but to bring a period of ecumenical confusion, a smokescreen to obscure the serious ecumenical problems which lay hidden from view, but which were soon to burst out into the open and wake the Charismatic Renewal from its dream-world.
>
> It was the "discipling" controversy which was the catalyst which changed the whole direction of the Charismatic Renewal. It divided the movement right down the middle. It produced a totally new climate. The two parts, which we can label "conservative" and "radical", have continued in the succeeding five year period to move further and further apart. ...
>
> The "radicals" were those who took the discipling issue much more seriously [than "conservatives" who opted to perpetuate the status quo and stress testimonies]. They include the Fort Lauderdale leaders, the Roman Catholics and some of the denominational leaders, particularly Larry Christenson. The issue of discipleship was a call to a more serious approach to the Christian life. It was a call to put one's house in order, to submit to elders, to accept discipline in the Christian life. It had its bad points, and it led a few into a new form of fanaticism on the issue of authority. But it created a new climate of sobriety in the Charismatic Renewal. Above all, those involved began to take much more seriously the doctrine of the Church. It was an ecclesial issue from start to finish.[58]

Harper believed the unity charismatics had experienced was actually 'inter-denominationalism' because it drew people away from churches and into para-

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[57] Michael Harper, *Charismatic Crisis—The Charismatic Renewal—past, present and future* (Wellington: CAM, 1980), p. 1, emphasis in original.
[58] *Ibid.*, p. 4, emphasis in original.

church and non-denominational activities. 'True ecumenism', he claimed, 'seeks to engage whole churches in co-operation and unity',[59] and in this over-arching goal, the renewal fell short, despite great gains in breaking-down sectarianism and bridging chasms, particularly across the traditional Protestant-Catholic divide. What occurred, in his view, made the renewal *itself*, rather than the renewal of the church or denomination, its primary focus.

This however, was a harsh assessment in relation to CAM, where the expressed aim had always been to serve the churches in renewal. It was not, either in constitution or practice, self-serving or introspective. A 1976 mission statement made it clear that:

> It looks forward to the time when the need for Christian Advance Ministries as an organisation set apart to serve the Churches, in renewal, will be absorbed into a renewed and united Church of God, in which the charismatic gifts and ministries are a normative and authentic expression.[60]

The leadership was expressing the need to move on with a sense of urgency lest 'in five years time the Charismatic Renewal will be another pietistic movement, and God will be moving elsewhere'.[61] By 1980 the 'renewed and united Church of God' was not a reality, but the renewal had became and was becoming 'a normative and authentic expression' in a growing number of churches and denominations.

Harper's observation of the House Church movement in Britain and the related impact of the discipleship controversy there, as well as his extensive experience of the international renewal, gave substance to his claims, but at no time up to 1985 were the conflict scenarios he describes an overriding feature of the Christchurch scene. There were splits; for example, at Hornby Presbyterian, Opawa Baptist, and Rutland Street Chapel, but there was also continued unity at the para-church level, and the disestablishment of bodies such as Group 70 and the Unity Singers, were amicable affairs. There were few 'spiritual mavericks',

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[59] Harper, *Charismatic Crisis*, p. 4.
[60] From the CAM flier 'Coming Events 1976'.
[61] Brian Smith (from Brisbane) was the only overseas speaker at the 1975 Lincoln Summer School. Marshall made reference to this remark of Smith's (passed at the school) in a letter to Michael Harper on 22 January 1976. CAM records.

although some prominent leaders—Marcus Arden and John Beaumont, for example—were very itinerant.

Harper drew an important distinction between 'inter-denominationalism' and 'ecumenism'. The terms are used interchangeably but are not strictly equivalent. The former is a practical and expedient working together across denominational churches; while the latter is a visible and more formal union of believers. Both were evident in the Christchurch renewal where the working together generated desire for 'Spirit-led' union based on a loose but generally well-understood charismatic interpretation of this as the consummate expression of Christian witness. At the height of the renewal this was a reality, although 'deeper dimensions' of the Spirit were always sought. The reason for this inter-denominationalism *and* ecumenicity can, it has been suggested, be traced to the city's history of religious pluralism and historical trend towards churches and leaders working together. This was the ecclesiological pattern into which the renewal appeared, and with concerted effort and conspicuous leadership, was able to develop so successfully.[62] It was the effect of wider change which slowed the impetus and undermined confidence in the unity of the local renewal, rather than developments within the city *per se*.

Aside from CAM's difficulties and the effects of Harper's paper, the growth of denominational renewal movements was a further major development in the early 1980s. This was an extension of the emphasis on parish renewal and a pervasive belief developed that the renewal had a role to play in the mission of the traditional churches. Official response to the renewal among the governing bodies of the main denominations in the 1960s was, at best, cautious. It was not, at that time, part of mainstream church life and early reports were detached in tone and suggesting close vigilance be paid to future developments.

As early as 1967, for example, a committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church published a short report on 'Pentecostalism'. Coming as it did at the same time as the Geering controversy, this new phenomenon was of

[62] See 5.2.3, pp. 162-67.

less immediate concern. Members of the committee quite accurately believed that:

> The extent of the movement within our Church, or involving our people is not great as yet. We understand it is limited to small groups in Auckland, Hamilton, Palmerston North, Wellington and Christchurch. It is, however, a growing influence, so that this is the stage to look at it carefully.[63]

Smail's visit in 1974 brought the renewal to the attention of the Assembly once again and raised its profile within Presbyterian circles generally. With joint credentials as a Minister in the Church of Scotland and as General Secretary of the Fountain Trust, Smail's presence was described as 'a significant growing point'.[64] By 1980 the Life and Work Committee convener (J. A. Taggart) reported that, 'the Work Group believes that God has raised up this movement for a purpose and that we need to listen and learn from it'.[65] This represented quite a shift from the cautious stance of 1968, and officially helped open the door to the formal constitution of the Paraclete Trust in October 1982.[66] In reality a group of Presbyterians had been actively involved in renewal since at least the mid-1970s. They evidently had a good relationship with CAM as 'The Paraclete' newsletter was included as an insert in the *Advance* magazine well before the Trust was established.[67] A Baptist report in 1970 adopted a position similar to that of the Presbyterians. 'Some effects [of neo-pentecostalism, it was noted] seem beneficial: ...But other effects can be harmful'.[68] 'Spirit baptism' was of obvious interest, as was tongues, and the conclusion was cautiously optimistic: 'We rejoice in the revival of interest in the ministry of the Holy Spirit and recognise in many places the winds of God's Spirit are blowing and bringing renewal to many believers'.[69] The ensuing experience of Spreydon and Opawa Baptist Churches show just how variable this comment was in practice.

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[63] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand.* Section VII Life and Work Committee, November 1967, p. 34a.
[64] *Reports of Committees and Other Papers*, The General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1974, p. 140.
[65] Assembly Papers, 1980, p. 167.
[66] The actual date was 16 October 1982.
[67] This was 'A Newsletter for the Charismatic Renewal within the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand'. Fifteen issues had been published by December 1979. The editors were Newton Fink and John Brook.
[68] Worsfold, *A History of the Charismatic Movements*, 'Baptist Report On Effects of Neo-Pentecostalism', Appendix III, pages 337 and 338.
[69] *Ibid.*, p. 343.

A desire to bring the charismatic renewal within the mainstream of the Anglican Church was formally expressed in August 1981,[70] but as was the case with the Presbyterians, the renewal had been under investigation some years prior to that, and of course, CAM had strong connections with Anglicans extending back to Muller's days as a chaplain and the seminal Massey Conference in 1964.

A common concern in Presbyterian and Anglican churches was the division that some charismatics had created—the old problem of the spiritual 'haves' and others, the 'have nots'. In 1982 the Presbyterian Life and Work Sub-Committee Convenor Helen Sinclair, noted that:

> Unfortunately, the tension between the so-called 'charismatics' and 'traditionalists' has resulted both in an unwillingness to explore together the area of spiritual manifestations and the creation of unhelpful divisions within our congregations. These divisions are largely the result of misunderstandings—though sometimes based on intolerance and prejudice—which we believe could be resolved in a constructive way if ministers were given far more assistance in enabling congregations to resolve these tensions.[71]

Similar concerns were stated in an Anglican report: 'overall growth [of renewal in the church] was slower because of apprehension of schism and ostracism by other clergy and lay readers'.[72] This response was frustrating; inclusive debate, discussion, reports and committees were foreign to the *modus operandi* of renewal and the general desire to 'keep up' with the Spirit. The most expedient solution was to form denominational renewal groups allowing for only a degree of autonomy within the established church but the *quid pro quo* was the exercise of strategic influence in lieu of change. The desire to win over clergy as a first step towards parish renewal had been the aim of CAM leaders (Marshall once

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[70] This was the 'Anglicans in Aotearoa Conference' at Lower Hutt in August 1981. Over 500 attended and a desire was expressed 'to bring charismatic renewal within the mainstream church life'. Brian Davis, *The Way Ahead—Anglican Change and Prospect in New Zealand* (Christchurch: The Caxton Press, 1995), pp. 124-25. This was preceded by the Wellington Anglican Charismatic Conference held during Labour Weekend, 25-27 October 1980.

[71] Assembly Papers, 1982, p. 99.

[72] 'Report of the Commission on the Charismatic Movement', The Anglican Church of New Zealand, in Kilian McDonnell (Ed), 'Presence, Power Praise', Vol. 2, No. 13, (Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1975), and cited here in Nola Ker's study, 'Religion and Society in Interaction in New Zealand', Unpublished M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, Wellington, 1984, p. 82. Even the seemingly benign suggestion (in 1979) that CAM publish a Charismatic Directory was challenged by Malcolm Oatway of Timaru, who reiterated these concerns. He wrote to Marshall 'appalled' at the idea'; 'it says plainly 'them' and 'us'. 16 March 1979, CAM records.

referred to this as 'quiet clobbering'[73]) and that responsibility was now transferring to groups like the Paraclete Trust and ARM.[74]

Although vulnerable to bureaucratic manoeuvres, renewal groups worked within denominations while contributing to wider goals of evangelism, service and mission. The alternative—formal schism and separation—was less appealing. This development, then, was both a compromise and a natural evolution arising from the maturity of the renewal and the desire of its leaders.[75] The focus concurrently shifted from CAM and onto the churches, while other para-church groups, notably FGBMFI and Dove Ministries, were fulfilling similar, supporting roles.

8.2.2. Social and Political Encroachment

The inability of conservative Christians (of which charismatics were a subset) to meaningfully engage contemporary culture became more obvious in the 1980s than it had been a decade before. While the local renewal was enjoying considerable success, the changing society of the 1970s was encroaching upon the boundaries of personal and parish renewal, but its effects were not fully felt until the following decade.

It is useful at this point to specify what is meant by the term 'conservative Christian'. As Rex Ahdar explains, this has as much to do with a certain mindset or attitude, as it does with political allegiance to the 'right' or 'left' of the traditional political spectrum. He offers a 'speculative definition':

> ...The epithet "conservative", small "c", is used not because such persons are politically right-wing or conservative (although they often are) but because it aptly describes a certain mindset or attitude of these persons toward their faith and its relationship with culture. Theologically, they are certainly conservative insofar as they wish to conserve the best, most authentic, pure or orthodox version of the faith. The "conservative" label is

[73] *Ibid.*, letter to Michael Harper, 18 June 1976.

[74] Muller resigned from CAM and established ARM in February 1983, see file 5/1 'New Zealand Council correspondence 1980-83', CAM records. The Roman Catholics, too, were responding at a structural level; Catholic Charismatic Renewal Services had established a Communications Centre in Petone, Wellington by the early 1980s, see also n. 34.

[75] The latter is a more positive appraisal. Former ARM South Island representative (1996-99), Gordon Langrell, formerly at St. Columba's, Hornby, correctly observed that 'ARM could be viewed as either a retreat or advance depending how you want to look at it'. Telephone interview, 15 August, 2002.

> also a useful label and superior to either say "evangelical" or "orthodox" since it is sufficiently broad to embrace a number of diverse movements and denominations within Christianity. The defining and essential characteristics of CC [sic] can be broken down into four interrelated convictions:
>
> i) Submissiveness to authority [the Bible is authoritative]
>
> *****
>
> ii) Moral absolutist [:]"there are absolute standards of right and wrong that apply to everyone"
>
> iii) Restorationist [:] ...they desire a return to a purer, atavistic form of Christianity [the primitivistic impulse evident in charismatic and pentecostal belief]
>
> iv) Oppositional [:] ...CCs are reactionary and oppose the prevailing ethos or "the spirit of the age".[76]

'Secondary characteristics' include the uncompromising 'either/or' attitude towards ethical issues; a siege mentality: 'there is often an embattled, defensive, even paranoid quality to their rhetoric. ...[and] frequent references to "domino theories" and "ratchet" effects".[77]

These characteristics became more evident and important in the 1980s as conservative Christians increasingly became embroiled in politics. For some charismatics this moved the focus onto the political arena, which in the process, tended to dull enthusiasm and demand new thought, energy and activity. For others, this encroachment was a cue to detach and pursue new and niche areas of interest within the evolving renewal. Both responses, however, helped break-up the renewal's cohesion. For those who attempted to respond, the 'mindset' Ahdar describes persisted and made engagement a difficult, and at times, frustrating business in practice. More importantly, this dissipated the renewal's energy and fuelled the fragmentation that was also coming from other sources.

The social and political issues of the 1980s were of greater significance in altering the texture of the Christchurch renewal than the effects of international controversies, new expressions of ministry, the issues facing CAM and the emergence of denominational renewal groups. Political matters were more public

[76] Rex Ahdar, 'Worlds colliding—Aspects of New Zealand conservative Christians' encounter with the law'. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Otago University, 2000, pages 36, 38 and 39.

than internal or ecclesiastical issues and elicited strong, often polarised responses from moral and religious conservatives, as well as from liberals.

Both types of response were motivated by divine justice, but from very different hermeneutical presuppositions; as discussed in Chapter 2, conservatives tend to interpret contemporary social change through the lens of an advancing 'secular humanism', while a more niche pentecostal and charismatic understanding simply considered the forces at work as 'Satanic'—the very antithesis of the Spirit of God. Liberal Christians, however, were more in accord with ethical pluralism and ameliorating 'social justice' causes was a central activity within their broader and more encompassing world view.

A protest culture became conspicuous in the 1960s. It paralleled the maturity of baby boomers into adulthood and gave expression to that generation's frustration and idealism. Jim McAloon has traced the rapid growth of this culture in Christchurch. He notes that:

> ...In 1968, 250 people had turned out to a Christchurch [anti-Vietnam War] demonstration; 7000 in 1970. ...
>
> It was a logical step from opposing the American-requested involvement in Vietnam to opposing other military connections with the United States. From 1968, radical students and a number of academics led vigorous campaigns against American communications installations in various parts of Canterbury. ...There were more protests in 1973 at the American transport and communications installations at Weedons and Harewood. ...
>
> It is difficult to identify distinctive features of other radical campaigns in the 1970s and 1980s. The national dimension of causes such as feminism, environmentalism and gay rights was perhaps emphasised at the local level. However, strong networks were formed.[78]

The Jesus Marches of 1972 were part of this but mixed protest with celebration. Conservative Christian responses to sex education in schools, feminism and abortion later in the decade were more 'protest' in nature than the marches had been. In each case, indignation led to rearticulation of 'Christian values' said to be threatened by a 'permissive society'. John Evans summarises the tenor of the early 1980s and the need for a more sophisticated response:

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[77] *Ibid.*, p. 39.
[78] 'Radical Christchurch' in Cookson and Dunstall (Eds) *Southern Capital*, p. 189.

> In whatever way this new concern [in the 1980s] was expressed, it was broader than just a single moral campaign over censorship, or even abortion or homosexuality. The whole fabric of society was in need of reform and change. ...The implication was that a broadly based Christian programme was needed which would change the direction in which the New Zealand state was heading. This was the programmatic and theocratic alternative of the New Christian Right. It did not come into being overnight. The Jesus Marches and some of the moral campaigns had begun to recognize a more thoroughgoing approach was needed, but they had been vague on what might be involved. By 1985, however, the concerns of conservative Christians had taken on a new dimension and there was a new breadth and political potency about them.[79]

The broad cultural shift towards the politicisation of moral and religious concerns accelerated in the 1980s, but the 'more thoroughgoing approach' did not occur until later in the decade.[80] Until 1985 the response continued to be reactionary and the 'solution' a return to 'traditional values'.

A Christchurch illustration of the intensified politicisation of religious issues was the clash that occurred in March 1979 when businessman Eric Sides (the proprietor of Eric Sides Motors) advertised for a 'keen Christian person' to work as a garage attendant. One applicant was refused because he did not attend church regularly. The young man's mother contacted the Human Rights Commission and legal proceedings against Sides began under the Human Rights Act of 1977. A national Christian appeal mobilised to support Sides and meet his legal expenses.[81] The Equal Employment Opportunities Tribunal finally ruled in Sides's favour but the charge of discrimination was maintained by local media.[82]

Legal technicalities aside, this case demonstrated very clearly the encroachment of political developments on the belief and practice of religious conservatives. For charismatics, living the 'Spirit-filled life' began to take on a social and political dimension that was not so much new as greatly intensified. This was

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[79] John Evans, 'The New Christian Right in New Zealand', in Gilling (Ed), *Be Ye Separate,* p. 81. It should be added that 'New Christian Right' was not only a *descriptive phrase*, but a *pejorative* as well and when used in that context, was synonymous with 'fundamentalism'.

[80] The Coalition of Concerned Citizens was formed in September 1985 and its influence on the National Party was felt in the 1987 general election, and eventually, a separate conservative Christian party was established, the Christian Heritage Party (CHP), in 1989.

[81] By December 1980, the Eric Sides Human Rights Trust had accumulated $10,000. Evans, 'The New Christian Right', p. 102. The *Challenge Weekly* editorial immediately after the decision declared: 'For many, it is unbelievable that in a "Christian country" with democratic government, legislation could allow this to happen', 24 April 1981, p. 2 (*ibid.*). This was out of step however, with the recent and rapid changes in human rights law and the increasing religious pluralism of New Zealand society.

first realised during the controversies of the 1970s, but it was becoming more frequent as the intersection of religious expression and human rights law brought such issues into full public view.

A raft of reforms in the 1970s facilitated the new moral and legal climate including abortion law reform (in 1971); the Equal Pay Act (1972); the select committee on women's rights, the founding of the Treaty of Waitangi Tribunal, and the Maori land march to Wellington (all in 1975); the establishment of the Human Rights Commission (1977); and the Bastion Point protests (in 1978). These national developments coincided with the growth of the renewal, but the focus on personal and parish renewal was essentially insular and lacked a conceptual framework to engage the public arena. This was a longstanding problem with roots inherited from fundamentalism, pentecostalism and evangelicalism. Fundamentalism in America in the late nineteenth century had been reactionary and anti-modernist and the same approach was still being employed. It was not, as Evans points out, until the late 1980s that a more *structural* response from New Zealand conservatives was forthcoming in the form of an organised conservative Christian political party—the Christian Heritage Party (CHP).

After nationwide consultation and visits to Canada to learn about that country's Christian Heritage Party, the New Zealand CHP was publicly launched on 12 July 1989. The first convention was held in Palmerston North in February 1990 and attended by 120 delegates. Graham Capill was appointed leader in June 1990. Capill was formerly a member at Hornby Presbyterian but left when charismatic influence began to be felt in that parish—he had refused to play the *Songs of Praise* on the organ. He subsequently joined the Reformed Church and secured ordination within that tradition. It would appear that prominent charismatic leaders did not make the transition into political activism through involvement in CHP. The recently-appointed deputy leader is Victor Pollard, who like Capill, had resisted the renewal in the 1970s; in Pollard's case as a then member at Opawa Baptist.[83]

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[82] Evans, 'The New Christian Right', p. 83.

As early as 1972 Walter Hollenweger had drawn attention to the inadequacies of pentecostalism to respond to social concerns, citing, what were in essence, theological lacunae. His comments apply equally to the premillennial foundations of charismatc renewal:

> In the expectation of the immediate second coming of Jesus, no attempt was made to achieve theological clarity and there was also a neglect of political and ethical problems. We are not called to proclaim problems, but the good news of salvation. And therefore, there is only a single legitimate aim before the second coming of Jesus on the clouds of heaven: to sanctify and unite the children of God and to evangelize the world within a single generation.[84]

The protest culture that had been developing since the 1960s sprawled into the streets during the 1981 Springbok rugby tour. This prompted riots not seen in New Zealand since the waterfront dispute of 1951; it also brought together the potent symbols of rugby and apartheid with an awakening social conscience. The tour provided an outlet for several deep divisions in New Zealand society including the generation gap highlighted by the continued maturity of baby boomers; protests against rugby and its stereotyped male behaviour (fuelled at least in part, by feminist awareness in the 1970s); political dissatisfaction with the ruling National Party, particularly Prime Minister Robert Muldoon; general protests against authority (the police), and the tension between the practical commonsense of rural dwellers and the sophistication of urban intellectuals—the former captured in a belief that 'sport and politics don't mix', while the latter had an awareness of human rights including racial inequalities in South Africa as well as in New Zealand.[85]

There was also a Christian dimension to the unrest; many believers—largely but not exclusively of a liberal persuasion—took to the streets.[86] Many conservatives also opposed the 1981 tour but the initiative for mobilisation fitted more comfortably with a liberal ethos, although there was no clear point of

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[83] See 6.2.2, p. 205.

[84] Walter J. Hollenweger (R. A. Wilson, Translator), *The Pentecostals* (London: SCM Press, 1972), 'The Failure of the Ecumenical Revival Movement', Chapter 32, Section 5, pp. 505-06. This captures the idealism and celebratory aspect of the 1972 Jesus Marches and the slogan 'One Way Jesus'.

[85] The writer was a student at Otago University at the time and a keen observer of these different attitudes.

[86] The liberal response was equally 'Christian', but, as noted, emanated from different theological and social presuppositions.

demarcation. John Curnow of the Catholic Commission for Evangelisation, Justice and Development, recalls the response in Christchurch:

> Mainstream churches combined, we had a meeting in Christchurch, 'Ministers against the Tour'. We took out advertisements; we promoted a good number of ecumenical prayer services; we had a vigil one night; and on that day of the first test we had an ecumenical service attended by the two bishops and other church leaders in the grounds of the Catholic cathedral as the actual demonstration went past. Some people dropped out of the demonstration and joined the prayer service, and some people at the prayer service joined the demonstration. So there was a certain amount of difference about the way to show protest; some Catholics felt the best way was just to have prayer; others felt that unless you got out on the streets you couldn't adequately show your opposition. ...
>
> There were some churches, not mainstream churches, who didn't want to become involved in what they called the political debate on the Tour, without appreciating that if you decide one way, you decide against another way and so by becoming not involved, they took a stance that favoured the status quo which is equally political. ...[87]

This 'non response' as Curnow points out, *was* a response, and illustrates the inevitable politicisation that occurred through such major events as the tour. Typically however, many conservatives attempted to adopt an apolitical stance; Morrow for example, called the church to concerted prayer and fasting.

Another very significant moral and political issue—the Homosexual Law Reform Bill of 1985—will be considered shortly, but within the renewal itself, there were also new forms and expressions emerging in the 1980s. These added to the effect of external variables and the overall trend towards fragmentation.

8.2.3. New Forms

A typology for understanding pentecostalism and the charismatic renewal was developed by Church Growth scholar C. Peter Wagner of Fuller Theological Seminary in the early 1980s.[88] Wagner believed that developments since the pentecostal 'outpouring' of the 1900s could be categorised into three 'waves'; the first was classical pentecostalism which began with the Azusa Street revival (1900 to 1950); the second was the charismatic renewal (1950 to 1980), and

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[87] Juliet Morris, *With All Our Strength—An account of the anti-tour movement in Christchurch 1981* (Christchurch: Black Cat, 1982), p. 14.

the third—the 'Third Wave' (from 1980)—was neither pentecostal or charismatic, but had recaptured initial truths believed 'lost' to the Church. Significantly, Wagner and colleague, John Wimber, rejected the initial evidence doctrine so central to the early charismatics who considered *glossolalia* as evidence of the Spirit's presence.[89]

The Third Wave provided a renewed sense of immanence, or as Wimber put it, the 'natural supernatural'. This more ontological whole-of-life understanding of the Spirit's presence and work advanced the early charismatic emphasis on tongues as a precondition for knowing and living the 'Sprit-filled life'; it also gave the Third Wave its distinctive emphases and created new opportunities for teaching seminars and workshops.

Wimber had a Quaker background which was evident in his desire to 'empower' ordinary believers to do the work of the ministry. This was a well-established thread in charismatic renewal—the priesthood of all believers—but Wimber was able to give it fresh emphasis. His version of kingdom theology tacitly rejected dispensationalism in favour of an eschatology based upon George Ladd's 'already-not yet' principle; the kingdom has come through Jesus Christ but not yet fully.[90] The lived experience of believers lies at the centre of this being-but-becoming process, and in Wimber's schema, this is to be characterised by appropriating the resources of heaven—'power evangelism', signs and wonders and warfare. He explains kingdom principles by use of an analogy:

> Proclamation of a faulty gospel will produce at best, weak Christians. Such is the case all too often today [1985]. Instead of a call to the lordship of Christ and membership in his army, people are hearing a selfish gospel: come to Jesus and get this or that need met, be personally fulfilled, reach your potential. This is not the costly kingdom gospel that Christ proclaimed: ...

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[88] Wagner (1930-) joined the faculty of Fuller Theological Seminary of World Mission in 1971 and subsequently became a world authority on church growth.

[89] Wimber (1934-1997) was eulogised in *Christianity Today* (Editorial, 9 February 1998) as '...a beer-guzzling, drug-abusing pop musician, who was converted at the age of 29 while chain-smoking his way through a Quaker-led Bible study'. His work with Wagner as the Founding Director of the Development of Church Growth at the Fuller Institute of Evangelism and Church Growth (1974-1978) gave credibility to Wimber's work in combining evangelism with 'healing' and 'prophecy'.

[90] See John Wimber and Kevin Springer, *Power Evangelism—Signs and Wonders Today* (Kent: Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), Chapter 1 'The Kingdom of God', especially pp. 18-27, and also Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, p. 771. Vineyard churches were later established in New Zealand patterned on Wimber's Vineyard Fellowship in California; these bridged pentecostal and charismatic styles.

> Entering the kingdom is like enlisting in the navy. But often the kingdom is likened to a Caribbean cruise on a luxury liner. Who would turn that offer down? So people change their leisure clothes, grab their suntan lotion, and saunter down to the docks. What a shock when they see a large grey ship with numbers painted on the side! ...
>
> The same is true of the kingdom in this age: it is a warship, navigating in enemy territory.[91]

Reformed writer John MacArthur dismissed this as abandoning conservative evangelicalism[92] and having a 'more pragmatic than biblical' orientation.[93] Although MacArthur is a severe critic, the Third Wave did re-emphasise the basic arminian tenet that divine sovereignty was compatible with free will and human agency. This was among the basic 'heresies' Reformed thinkers identified, but Wimber's signs and wonders emphasis and stress on the inner experience of God with a minimal of doctrinal formulation (reflecting the Quaker influence), proved enormously popular. Ironically, Wagner attempted to position the Third Wave as separate from the charismatic renewal, but MacArthur is on firm ground in forging the obvious link with charismatic developments and citing the same *modus operandi*: 'Third Wavers [he adds] have allowed their experience-centered hermeneutic—combined with a utilitarian devotion to whatever seems to work—to move them away from biblical theology'.[94]

The extent to which any genuine distinction exists between Third Wave belief and practice and the charismatic renewal is not as important for the present study as the fact that Wimber was generally embraced by charismatics including CAM.[95] His music also exerted a strong influence on the New Zealand renewal and Vineyard music helped displace the centrality of David and Dale Garratt's influence in the late 1980s. By the time of their third book, *Songs of the Nations,* the Garratts were now emphasising the plight of the suffering nations and their need to hear the gospel.[96] This was a marked departure from the first *Songs of*

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[91] Wimber, *Power Evangelism*, pp. 21-22.
[92] MacArthur, *Charismatic Chaos*, p. 181.
[93] *Ibid.*, p. 169.
[94] MacArthur, *Charismatic Chaos*, p. 172.
[95] CAM records, April 1986-April 1987.
[96] The title was indicative of the emphasis. A popular and moving song was 'Healing to the Nations' by Bob Fitts. The lyrics were particularly evocative: 'I hear a young child crying, and see tears of unending pain/I've watched as war-torn nations treated life with such disdain/My heart grieves to know that these haven't come to

Praise book and the celebration of personal renewal. The direct citation of Bible verses had also declined, and the contrition evident in some songs was also accompanied by a new sense of militancy, 'warfare', and righteous confrontation with the 'prince of darkness'.[97] These themes reflect the changed political climate and a growing awareness of the need to engage a wider mission field.

In addition, Wimber brought a change in ministry style; over and above the emphasis on ordinary believers exercising ministry, he also popularised team ministries and, perhaps due to his close friendship with the English charismatic David Watson, encouraged the use of the visual and performing arts and drama. The team ministry approach incorporating these elements had been introduced to New Zealand churches (including Christchurch) by Watson during his 1980 visit.[98]

Wimber's first New Zealand conference in 1986 was then, a significant event, and not only because of his particular teaching, music and ministry style, but because after this year, CAM supported these events rather than continuing their own Summer Schools.[99] These schools, which had previously been so central in facilitating the Christchurch renewal (and in other centres), had finally run their course. Other visitors also taught on 'inner healing', 'deliverance' and counselling, including John and Paula Sandford, and an American Presbyterian couple, Bill and Delores Winder, also came to New Zealand in the late eighties with the support of CAM and the Paraclete Trust.[100] The new foci continued the

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understand that I suffered for their sufferings and died that they might live again'. Scripture in Song (Book Three) *Songs of the Nations,* No. 522.

[97] For a wider discussion of changing themes in charismatic and pentecostal music see Knowles, 'from the ends of the earth we hear songs', pp. 3-21.

[98] Watson's return visit to Christchurch in September 1980 was a well-organised affair and the local CAM Committee members included 13 pentecostals and charismatics including Russell James, Bruce Beckett, Rex Meehan and Brian Carrell, CAM records, August 1980. Rob Yule was later included: 'Somehow, I think, either through Rex or Martin Warren, I was asked to join, ...To my knowledge, Christchurch was unique in having a local CAM support group'. Yule interview, 7 July 1998. Watson and team ministered at several meetings (see *Advance,* August 1980, p. 7), and included workshops on evangelism, music and dance. Watson died of cancer in February 1984, but had met Wimber in 1980 when visiting Fuller. The Foreword to *Power Evangelism* recalls their friendship and was written by Watson's widow, Anne.

[99] Bolitho, 'In This World', p. 134.

[100] The Christchurch CAM support group had been sponsoring teaching on the new emphases, see for example, 'Teaching Day on Spiritual Warfare', St. Paul's, Papanui, *The Press,* 27 February 1982, p. 23. The New Life Centre also sponsored a 'Healing the Emotions Seminar', *ibid.,* 6 November 1982, p. 27. The Winders were among the early visitors to move in the counselling area, and were particularly active within Presbyterian churches. See CAM records, file 6/1/30 'The Paraclete Trust 1983-84, Winders'.

original charismatic emphasis on personal renewal but with a more conspicuous psychological and therapeutic slant.

8.3. The Christchurch Renewal in Retrospect

8.3.1. The Christchurch Scene in 1985

In her account of the anti-Springbok tour movement in Christchurch, Juliet Morris summarises the effects on the churches. She notes that:

> The churches were affected by the tour in many of the same ways as society as a whole was. The tour created rifts in the church between supporters and opposition groups, while at the same time revealing for many people a new relevance. It acted as a catalyst in mobilising people to become involved in not only the tour, but larger issues of injustice and social change.[101]

In other words, the tour irrevocably altered the climate in which churches operated irrespective of their theological persuasion or ecclesiastical tradition. The renewal had always contained the paradoxical elements of religious radicalism (enthusiasm) while suggesting moral and political conservatism, but at the juncture of the early and mid-1980s, the latter aspect was becoming more prominent, not as a matter of choice in many instances, but in response to the encroachment and truculence of a changed political climate.[102]

This was particularly evident in March 1985 when the Homosexual Law Reform Bill was put before parliament by Wellington Central MP, Fran Wilde.[103] This was not an isolated proposal but very much part of a wider human rights advocacy which had been gathering momentum since the 1970s. It also coincided with the economic reforms of the fourth Labour Government led by Prime Minister, David Lange and Minister of Finance, Roger Douglas. Douglas's brand of free market

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[101] Morris, *With All Our Strength*, p. 15.

[102] Conservative theological views were easily given political expression in the centre-right, traditional National Party; 'a majority of theologically fundamentalist [sic] Christians [also had] conservative political views'. Wallace, 'An Investigation of the Political Attitudes', p. 75. Wallace's conclusion would probably have been more emphatic had his research been conducted after the 1981 tour and the law reform debates of 1985. As an indication however, of political attitudes and allegiances in Christchurch, this remains a useful study.

[103] At the introduction of the bill the voting was 51 in favour of it proceeding, 24 against. This was a conscience issue meaning members were not bound by party loyalties. *The Press*, 11 March 1985, p. 11.

reform quickly became known as 'Rogernomics' and was foreign to the socialistic beliefs and expectations of Labour's traditional constituency.

Nineteen-eighty-five was a tumultuous year of social and economic reform. 'Rogernomics' saw the floating of the New Zealand dollar, the removal of trade tariffs, government subsidies and protections and the introduction of a new flat tax on goods and services, GST.[104]

The Lange administration was also committed to social reform. Among the changes in 1984-85 were the establishment of the Ministry of Women's Affairs and ratification of the United Nations Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women. Labour had campaigned (in July 1984) on an anti-nuclear platform which in office, created tension with the United States, the traditional ally; nuclear powered or capable ships were banned from entering New Zealand ports meaning the ANZUS treaty was effectively inoperable. There were also proposals to abolish corporal punishment in schools and institute comprehensive sex education programmes through new curricula,[105] and international terrorism arrived in New Zealand in July with the bombing of the Greenpeace vessel the *Rainbow Warrior* in Auckland harbour by French agents.

Homosexual law reform then, was part of a much wider political ambience. Almost immediately, Graeme Lee, the conservative Christian and National MP for Hauraki, called for 'the sleeping majority to bestir itself' and pronounced that homosexuality 'violates moral standards of God, runs contrary to the good of the country, and is in opposition to the best interests of our youth'.[106] The following day, fellow National MP, Norman Jones the member for Invercargill, asked, 'where are the church leaders who call for a nuclear-free New Zealand? Let them call for an AIDS-free New Zealand instead of supporting its spread'.[107] The AIDS threat however, was used by both sides of the debate: Wilde argued for reform

[104] These changes were front page news in *The Press*, see for example, '1000 submissions on GST', 18 May 1985, p. 1, and 'Minister justifies rapid change', June 14 1985, p.1.
[105] See 'NZEI defers strap position', *The Press*, 16 May 1985, p. 1. Martin Viney an outspoken spokesman for the Concerned Parents' Association, wrote in response to the sex education proposals, see 'Education or social engineering?' *Ibid.*, August 3 1985, p. 18.
[106] *The Press*, 'Conscience Vote by MPs', 8 March 1985, p. 1.
[107] *Ibid.*, 'Opposition decries bill', March 9 1985, p. 3. AIDS—Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome—was a newly-discovered and fatal disease spread through the exchange of sexual and other body fluids.

on the basis that attitudes towards the disease needed to change and this could only occur in a decriminalised environment;[108] while those opposed to the bill frequently cited AIDS as a disease of sexual promiscuity, and particularly evident within the homosexual community.[109]

The debate continued throughout the year and divided the church; many leaders and members of the main denominations supported law change, while others remained staunchly opposed. The Coalition for Concerned Citizens mobilised conservative moral and religious reaction by presenting an 800,000 signature petition opposed to the bill which was ceremoniously trucked to parliament in September. A liberal counter-response was the Campaign for Tolerance, which also included prominent clergy.

While ultimately the bill became law in 1986 this issue had brought conservative Christians into the public arena more conspicuously and aggressively than had been the case during the moral campaigns of the late 1970s. Although the discipleship controversy provided a catalyst for New Zealand pentecostals to review the national association of churches, part of the rationale was a united concern about moral permissiveness. One of the first acts of the newly-formed Association of Pentecostal Churches in 1976 was to send a delegation to the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition expressing these concerns, and shortly later, in a submission to the Royal Commission on Contraception, Sterilisation and Abortion in New Zealand it was stated that:

> [W]ith the rise of nationalism, secularism and liberal theology, the validity and authority of the Bible as an objective, authoritative standard of conduct has not only been not only called into question but disregarded. In the absence of such an objective standard the standards by which we are forced to make [judgements] become fluid, subjective and variable in accordance with the whims of popular feeling and convenience. The Pentecostal Churches make a strong plea for a recognition of what God has said about these matters and revealed to us through his eternal word, the Bible.[110]

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[108] *The Press*, 8 March 1985, p.1.
[109] Part of the full-page Church of Christ advertisement read: 'The horrific new disease AIDS is mainly a homosexual disease. ...There is no doubt that this disease is primarily communicated by homosexual male sex.' *The Press*, 15 May 1985, p. 11.
[110] Cited in Evans, 'The New Christian Right', p. 79.

The abortion debate was of particular concern and charismatics reflected the views of pentecostals although other conservatives seemed more active in the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child. In Christchurch however, pentecostals were significant in 1977 in establishing the Save Our Homes campaign (Anne Morrow), and the Integrity Centre in Armagh Street (Neville Rush).[111]

The 1981 protests had been largely a liberal initiative whereas the reaction in 1985 was a conservative one. The response in Christchurch however, continued in the mould of naïve reactionism, including charismatics and pentecostals. Rush, for example, was an early supporter of Radio Rhema in addition to his oversight of the Integrity Centre, a civic organisation closely aligned to the pentecostal and charismatic groups. He was also a regular writer of letters to *The Press.* In March 1985 he had written in support of the 'family unit':

> The humanistic and collectivist approach is simply an alien invasion of our land and those who believe and are obedient to God must resist every attempt of these atheists to destroy what God commanded—long-term faithfulness of one man and one woman, with responsibility for both care and control of their own children—marriage.[112]

While later, in support of the Salvation Army's stance on law reform, Rush replied:

> At least some part of the Christian Church has not collaborated with the alien philosophies of humanism and socialism and is still prepared to honour the Holy Bible and obey the Word of God.[113]

These extracts illustrate the 'siege mentality' to which Ahdar referred. In a similar vein, Sue Tucker wrote that:

> I support the cry of what the church is doing about homosexual law reform raised by several correspondents. For too long church leaders have been siding with liberal thinkers rather than declaring the Word of God, which is forthright on the subject of homosexuality. However I consider the church partly to blame for the growth of homosexuality and other ungodliness, because it has watered-down and misrepresented Christianity to such an extent it is no longer attractive to the majority.[114]

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[111] *Ibid.*, p. 74.
[112] *Ibid.*, 5 March 1985, p. 20.
[113] *The Press*, 16 April 1985, p. 14.

A more moderate and reasoned response in *The Press* was an article by David Stewart, the principal of the Bible College of New Zealand , 'A Christian case against change'.[115]

The 'trump card' however came from a group within the Church of Christ. A full-page advertisement proclaimed, 'God defend New Zealand from the spread of homosexual practices', and went on to discuss, in some detail 'how the homosexual law reform bill [sic] will affect you and your family'.[116] But others distanced themselves from this reaction—including leaders within the Associated Church of Christ.[117] In response to Rush, John Dobson wrote: 'Neville Rush is wrong again. Reared as a conventional Anglican, I experience only dismay when I expose the use of falsehood by Right-wing fundamentalists who try to impose their values on our society';[118] while a number of prominent church leaders and lay persons from across the denominations were signatories to a large display advertisement, 'We Support Homosexual Law Reform'. Colin Brown and Betty O' Dowd were among the Christchurch names along with other prominent civic figures including Elsie Locke, Wolf Rosenberg and David Hay.[119]

The conservative Christian response was much wider than simply a charismatic response. Many within the local scene continued promoting both traditional and Third Wave aspects of renewal, and with seemingly little overt interest in the political tensions.[120] The Derek Prince meeting at the start of the year was a combined churches' healing meeting and Prince developed teaching themes around his long-standing interest in the restoration of Israel.[121] A more

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[114] *Ibid.,* 15 March 1985, p.10.
[115] Opinion editorial, *The Press*, 27 April 1985, p. 18.
[116] *Ibid.,* 15 May 1985, p. 11.
[117] The response from Martin Rees, the Chairman, Public Questions Committee, the Associated Churches of Christ in New Zealand, was quick to distance the church: 'I wish to make it clear [he said in a letter to the editor] that the advertisement in *The Press* yesterday regarding the Homosexual Law Reform Bill was not submitted on behalf of the Associated Churches of Christ in New Zealand'. *The Press*, 16 May 1985, p. 12.
[118] *Ibid.,* 1 August 1985, p. 14.
[119] *The Press*, 20 April 1985, p. 6.
[120] There was however, a real awareness, but the response was on an issue-by issue basis, if at all. An elder Hornby Presbyterian for example, wrote on behalf of the Session to the Government 'a letter of positiveness' on its stand over the nuclear issue, while on homosexual law reform; 'Session affirmed that homosexual acts between males are morally wrong and dishonouring to God'. Session Minutes, 2 October 1984, and 2 April 1985.
[121] *Ibid.,* 29 December 1984, p. 21. Rob Yule was also involved, although Warren Smith and Barry Botherway were the principal organisers. Yule recalls: '...I was asked by Wyn Fountain and a team from Auckland in 1984

immediate response to 'politics' was the Coalition of Concerned Citizens hosting Graeme Lee, Auckland businessman Keith Hay and American pastor Louis Sheldon at Majestic House in August. This was a 'meeting for all who are concerned about the undermining of moral values and family life'.[122] The English charismatic Colin Urquhart returned after a ten-year absence for the 1986 Summer School, but this was not conspicuously under the auspices of CAM and was hosted at Majestic House rather than Lincoln College.[123]

By 1985 Spreydon Baptist Church had developed area congregations in Addington, Ilam, Somerfield and Upper Riccarton.[124] These remained linked to the 'mother' church in polity but were not hostile to charismatic influence and the degree to which these elements were present depended upon the leadership. Ron Reeves's 'prosperity teaching' continued and a new venture, the Word of Faith Video Bible School in Colombo Street promoted material by Texans Kenneth and Gloria Copeland and others of a similar faith and prosperity persuasion.[125] The wider understanding of healing also continued with the Anglican Te Waiora Healing Centre being established at Hororata. 'There was a great need [a spokesman for the centre explained] for such a venture to which people, from whatever walk of life may come, who are under stress and strain'.[126]

Another venture which illustrates the influence of wider cultural currents on the charismatic movement was the St. Saviour's Anglican Church counselling centre which was set up in May.[127] Like the Hororata healing centre, this reflected a discernable shift towards psychological models of healing, but in this case, a clear feminist influence was also apparent. The role of women was not a conspicuous feature of the charismatic renewal, but feminist critique did affect some that had been exposed to renewal teachings, and in the mid-1980s, tensions were becoming evident. The priesthood of all believers usually meant

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to front up the Derek Prince visit at the end of that year. I became chairman of that committee and together with Warren Smith became the sponsor of Derek Prince Ministries South Pacific'. Yule interview, 7 July 1998.

[122] *The Press*, August 3 1985, p. 30.

[123] *Ibid.*, 28 December 1985, p. 25.

[124] Robertson, 'Twenty-Five Years', p. 3. See also *The Press*, 2 March 1985, p. 41.

[125] See for example, *ibid.*, 12 January 1985, p. 65.

[126] 'Centre for healing', *The Press*, 6 March 1985, p. 9. The spokesman was Ross Allen, the vicar of Shirley.

[127] 'Support for women examining their faith', *ibid.*, 13 May 1985, p. 8.

male leadership, but not divisively so. But by 1985, a reappraisal of cultural norms was beginning to emerge.

In an article on the counselling centre it was noted that:

> A number of feminist Christian groups are operating now in Christchurch. The latest one is being set up at...St. Saviour's Anglican Church in Sydenham. It is designed for women who need not be churchgoers, but who feel a need to examine their faith in the light of feminist theology and personal insights. ...
>
> Jenny Schroeder [one of the organisers] recalls that a period of charismatic Christianity led her to explore feminist thinking. "Being a Christian isn't about filling designated role models. It's about knowing who you are. I found I just couldn't accept role models like those presented in 'The Total Woman' and 'The Creative Homemaker'." ...
>
> She thinks that one of the most difficult areas for many women is the idea of "a male covering" as it is called in the Bible. ...
>
> They [Schroeder and Jenny Lance] would like to see more equality, a sharing of ideas, a "Sarah's circle" type of approach.[128]

What women such as Anne Morrow had been promoting as an important dimension of 'fulfilment' a decade earlier was now being seriously questioned.[129]

Just as the Anglicans in Christchurch had been leaders in the early renewal, so too they were among the vanguard of other changes, including, in due course, the ordination of women in 1978—well before the move elsewhere in the world-wide Anglican Communion.[130]

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[128] *Ibid.* William Schroeder was the then vicar at St. Saviour's, and Jenny Schroeder was also a lay chaplain at the Christchurch Teachers' College. St. Saviour's in Bruce Beckett's time had been a hub of charismatic renewal.

[129] Morrow, however, continued to promote women's issues with success and to an expanded audience. She organised the first Australasian National Conference of Ministers' Wives and Women in Leadership', held in Christchurch in June 1983. There were 625 delegates, including 232 pastors' wives and 10 from Australia. A report noted that 'Though the majority of delegates came from the Full Gospel Churches such as the NLCs, AOG and Apo[ostolic] churches, many came from main line denominations such as Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican and Church of Christ' (New Life records). It was interesting that ministry to women was now reflecting two very different emphases: that from a traditional and conservative perspective, and that from a feminist perspective—both were making claims to meet the spiritual needs and aspirations of women.

[130] See, for example, '1990 earliest for Anglican women priests', *The Press*, 17 November 1984, p. 10. The first women priests in Christchurch were ordained in May 1978 (following a General Synod vote in 1976). Other churches however, were well ahead in this respect; the Methodists ordained their first woman presbyter in 1959, and the Presbyterians in 1965.

The more openly schismatic tendencies of the renewal were also evident in the 1980s with splits at Hornby Presbyterian, Rutland Street Chapel and at St. John's in Rangiora.[131] In the case of Hornby Presbyterian and Rutland Street, two new pentecostal churches emerged; Hornby Elim and Northcote Christian Fellowship. These were independent of their 'mother' churches.

While the Catholics had been prominent in local renewal, particularly Ces Dennehy,[132] the impact of renewal had been keenly felt in particular quarters, notably among the Redemptorist and Lamb of God communities.[133] By 1985, Dennehy had been in ministry fifty years and he remarked that, 'the church today is 'healthier' than at any other time this century. "The people have a deeper faith and are more satisfied in their exercising of it", he said'.[134] While this may have been true for many and the effect of the renewal underlying his comments, obvious; this was a rather optimistic assessment. Although not specifically naming the renewal, an anonymous advertisement in late 1984 appealed to 'Catholics of Christchurch' and read:

> Would you have ever guessed 25 years ago that you would go to sunday [sic] Mass to...shake hands?, sing folk songs? Watch nuns dance in leotards? Would this possibly be the same religion we believed 25 years ago? Was this predicted by Our Lady at Fatima and La Selette? Find out your answers in a lecture by a Catholic Priest on Sunday, November 18.[135]

The lecture may have been a critique of the effects of Vatican II, or more specifically aimed at the renewal as the practices described were all features of the informality typical of charismatic meetings. Either way, as in other churches, the Catholic Church was, at this time, also 'taking stock' of more than two decades of social and ecclesiological change.

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[131] There is not space to explain all of the developments in these churches, although the Hornby story is covered in 6.1, pp. 183-96. The charismatic element at Rutland Street had been developing slowly but without overtly divisive tendencies. The Northcote breakaway was led by Warren Duncan and Don Jenkins and met initially at Casebrook Intermediate School Hall, in Veitch Road. An early mentor was Hudson Salisbury from Upper Hutt Christian Fellowship—another leader with pentecostal experience and a strong Brethren heritage. The St. John's Anglican Parish in Rangiora had been staffed by charismatic leaders since 1978 when David Harper was appointed there (later joined by Allen Neil), and Bruce Beckett moved there in 1981.

[132] Yule described him as 'the Grandfather of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal', Yule interview, 7 July 1998.

[133] The Catholic cathedral was one parish, however, where the renewal made an impact particularly the influence of tongues and music. A parishioner, Tom Thompson was a worship leader and his wife an organist. 'It was [he notes] pretty hard going for a start'. Tom Thompson telephone interview, 5 June 2000.

[134] *Ibid.*, 9 March 1985, p. 3.

8.3.2. Impact and Appraisal

Charles Finney has said 'a revival of religion presupposes a declension'.[136] Despite the best intentions of religious enthusiasts, excitability is difficult to maintain and it is always susceptible to external influences. In the case of the charismatic renewal in Christchurch the 'declension' was relative rather than absolute, but the local story would still appear to support Finney's dictum.

The meteoric rise of renewal first evident in the 1960s continued in the following decade but the impetus was slowly lost and fragmentation occurred.[137] It was the process itself that undermined the strength and organisational unity of the Christchurch renewal; by the mid-1980s there was plenty of energy expended but from a greater number of sources, and by that time, the need to respond to social and political issues was more keenly felt by many charismatics.

Writing in 1980, Colin Brown noted that, 'The immediate effect of the Charismatic Renewal has been and continues to be polarisation and this stage is not yet over'.[138] By this he meant the categories of believers—the spiritual 'haves' and have nots'—or charismatics and non-charisamtics; some accepted and endorsed the phenomenon; others reacted against it. While he is correct to suggest this stage persisted, in Christchurch at least, many charismatics had moved towards integrating renewal into mainstream churches by the mid-1970s. The polarisation phase was characterised by splits within parishes, teaching from opposing sides; that is, advocacy and reaction. Both perspectives considered renewal to be a radical form of religious expression.

This led to a phase of more formal integration and rejection between 1973 and 1982. The parish was the main setting for this and where both sides were well represented, as at Hornby Presbyterian, for example, the tendency for open schism was real. In accord with their polity and constitution, local Brethren assemblies exercised a degree of autonomy, but generally rejected renewal

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[135] *The Press*, 17 November 1984, p. 6.
[136] Cited in Leonard Ravenhill, *Why Revival Tarries* (Kent: STL Books, 1972), p. 56.
[137] The meteorite analogy was discussed in 3.3.1, pp. 83-84.
[138] Brown, 'The Charismatic Contribution' in Colless and Donovan (Eds) *Religion in New Zealand Society*, p. 110.

echoing the stance of influential leaders in the early 1960s. In the mid-1970s, Waltham Gospel Hall, Hornby and Riccarton Chapels all explored charismatic issues, but used the popularity of renewal as an opportunity to reaffirm traditional doctrinal positions. Rutland Street and Bassett Street were certainly more 'open', although exploration of charismatic issues did not lead to these assemblies officially endorsing renewal.[139] Others, such as the Reformed Church, rejected renewal *in toto* at the national level.

Through intense levels of supra-denominational organisation and activity, the renewal also affected pentecostal constituencies and generally in positive ways despite the rupture at Sydenham AOG. High profile charismatic activities and events added general respectability at a time when many pentecostal churches were enjoying unprecedented numerical growth.[140] The close and often cordial relationships between pentecostals and charismatics in Christchurch easily blurred distinctive doctrinal differences and resulted in some churches, in fluid understandings of membership, particularly among pentecostals.[141]

Renewal movements within the churches were a natural extension for charismatics who had remained loyal to their denominations, but these had the effect of further weakening CAM and adding to its internal and other difficulties in the early 1980s. Alongside the theological concerns of Smail and others and the very public criticisms of Michael Harper, specialist ministries were emerging

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[139] The changes at Bassett Street Chapel (in Burwood) are a separate story but it should be noted this was a 'church plant' from Rutland Street in the 1950s. It inherited the 'open' ethos of the 'mother' church. Charismatic issues were explored by a group within the assembly but this did not constitute endorsement. The tensions escalated however, and in an unprecedented development in the 1980s, those resisting renewal influence left. After the Northcote split from Rutland Street, elders from that assembly reaffirmed a non-charismatic ethos. Interview with Peter Marshall, 17 March 2003. Marshall had involvement in various Christchurch assemblies extending back to the early 1960s.

[140] It was noted in a 1980 study of Christchurch Apostolic that, 'The Church was found to have grown rapidly during the 1970s and to have a preponderance of youthful members, most of whom, transferred from other churches'. Rayner, 'Social Characteristics of Pentecostalism', p. iv. The Revival Fellowship also grew and this necessitated a shift into new premises (Majestic House) after 1976. Pentecostal growth was a world-wide phenomenon in the 1970s, see Burgess et al., *Dictionary*, pp. 186-87.

[141] In Rayner's study, 72.5 percent (227, n = 313) of respondents to a questionnaire on continuing connection with other churches indicated they attended the Apostolic Church only, while a relatively high figure, 18.5 percent (58 persons) indicated continuing connections with other churches in Christchurch, *ibid.*, Table 29, p. 82. Charismatics however, were encouraged by CAM to remain loyal and work for change within their parishes. Morrow's view of membership was typical of early pentecostals: the believer was a 'member of heaven' first and foremost—organisational membership was not greatly valued. Perceived abuses of this *laissez-faire* understanding were a concern of the discipleship teachers in America in the mid-seventies.

which moved beyond Spirit baptism and tongues and into new and more sophisticated areas such as counselling and 'spiritual warfare'.

These factors combined with a volatile political climate gave rise to a third phase; that of fragmentation. This undermined the local renewal but it was a gradual process with no single issue appearing to exert a decisive influence. The 1985 debates were very significant in uniting conservative Christians in opposition to homosexual law reform, but the increasing politicisation did not augur well for the unity of the local renewal, and they came at a time when organisational, theological and other tensions were escalating.

The impact of charismatic renewal is difficult to assess in statistical terms because the parishes affected were not separate entities; they existed *within* established structures and isolated statistics pertaining to the influence of renewal were not kept.[142] Parish figures are therefore of dubious value, but they suggest the real contribution of renewal did not lie in bolstering depressed membership figures, but elsewhere. The Sydenham-Beckenham Anglican Church, for example, was led by a charismatic vicar, Bruce Beckett, from 1971 to 1981—the key decade of renewal growth. In the 17-year period from 1966 to 1983, attendance figures showed a modest rise from 113 to 126 persons, or an 11.5 percent increase. In the same period, Hornby Presbyterian, despite its solid evangelical reputation during Alex Munro's tenure, showed a similar and small increase in communicant membership; 105 to 115, or 9.5 percent. This, however, spanned a wide period which included the Geering affair (and its aftermath), a change of pastoral leaders, mass defections to both Reformed and pentecostal churches, and eventually, Yule's 'Spirit baptism' and subsequent acceptance of charismatic renewal. By 1983 Hornby was in the throes of rebuilding both its evangelical and charismatic constituencies.[143]

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[142] Notwithstanding attendances at formal conferences, seminars and workshops, but these were separate, para-church events. CAM leaders kept detailed records of Summer School attendances, including denominational breakdowns.

[143] It should be added that the present minister (since 1988), Murray Talbot, was appointed on his strengths as a committed charismatic and evangelical. Under Talbot's leadership, and in a manner similar to Spreydon Baptist under the continued leadership of Murray Robertson, Hornby has attempted to balance charismatic approaches with wider mission and outreach foci. This was reflected in the 2002 name change to 'Hornby Presbyterian Community Church'—the third name used by the parish since its beginnings in 1908.

Within denominations, charismatic impact was considerable but not universal. Among Anglican clergy in Christchurch in the mid-1970s, an estimated 30 percent were sympathetic,[144] but as illustrated in previous chapters, this group was very active and influential beyond what this figure suggests. The real contribution of renewal was qualitative, rather than quantitative. The effects it had, for example, on music, the style of ministry, the strong sense of security, empowerment, community and belonging it engendered in those involved, were all profound. Moreover, the freedom of expression, informality and increased lay involvement irrevocably altered the ecclesiology of these churches—what was meant by *church* and the ontological importance of *being* the Body of Christ.

Insofar as Christchurch is concerned, the renewal did not arrest or reverse a long-term societal trend towards declining attendance in the main denominations, but it did alter the ecclesiological landscape by authenticating beliefs and practices previously the domain of pentecostals. It also acted as a fillip for more traditional activities such as evangelism, discipleship and outreach.

Despite the pretence of radicalism, the renewal paralleled a society and western civilisation in flux. The desire for intense spiritual experience and new forms of expression (music, for example), did not solely have their origin in religious, but in social and demographic change, as well. The renewal was an enthusiastic religious expression providing meaningful responses to these wider societal shifts.

8.3.3. The Legacy of Renewal

By the mid-1980s charismatic renewal had become normative in many parishes and independent churches, but it had lost much of its enthusiasm and radicalism in the process. In the main denominations it had to be continually refined and adapted to suit the local context.[145] The extent to which churches affected in the

[144] Brown, 'The Charismatic Contribution', p. 105. These figures are from the Anglican 'Commission on the Charismatic Movement', 1976. This was issued to all parishes. See *Year Book*, 1976, p. 38, and also, n. 72.

[145] Reflecting on years of experience, Larry Christenson has remarked, 'Any attempt to try to come up with a formula for renewal is really a recipe for death'. 'What is the Spirit Saying *Now*?' *Faith and Renewal*, Vol. 18, No. 1, January/February 1994, p. 17. This was a lesson Murray Robertson at Spreydon Baptist instinctively seemed to grasp very early on.

1970s and 1980s have remained identifiably 'charismatic' has been closely related to the appointment of pastoral leaders and the style of leadership they offered. As in the early years, leadership has been a critical factor in the success or otherwise of the renewal.

By the late 1980s a new generation was emerging and this meant foundational beliefs and practices—spiritual gifts, for example—had to be re-taught, ensuring, in certain churches at least, an on-going 'renewing of renewal'. In the increasingly consumer-driven 1990s, church or parish loyalties continued to wane and a new phenomenon, largely American in origin, the mega church appeared.

The mega church has roots in charismatic and pentecostal sources, consumer and market economics, church growth literature, and psychological understandings emphasising therapy and 'recovery' ministries. These threads were evident in the transition of the renewal in the 1980s, but the real impetus has come more recently from places such as Willow Creek in South Barrington, Illinois and through the writings of senior pastor Bill Hybels.[146] As in the renewal, the influence of overseas 'experts' has remained primary, although imported ideas, as always, had to be skilfully fused into local contexts. The mega church model is a multi-faceted approach to contemporary ministry using highly adaptable facilities and an advanced organisational network to cater for individual needs within a large corporate community.

Spreydon Baptist was the first church in Christchurch to embrace the mega church concept in the mid-1990s. For Murray Robertson, this evolved from a raft of other significant developments, including charismatic renewal. The idea for area congregations originally arose from a practical need for more space, but the mega church model in encouraging the flexible use of space, resulted in a reversal of this policy and an ingathering of the area congregations in the 1990s, although some, such as the Ilam congregation, preferred to become autonomous. A new multi-purpose sanctuary-cum-gymnasium complex was

[146] Hybels is an international speaker and prolific author; somewhat akin to the status of Michael Harper and Derek Prince in the renewal of earlier decades. Willow Creek Community Church, as it is properly known,

erected on the existing site in the mid-1990s. Writing in 1991, Robertson reflected on almost twenty years of change, including charismatic renewal. He emphasised the importance of *adapting* ideas from elsewhere to suit the local context, which is an important lesson and particularly true in relation to renewal. A firm direction and leadership, both his own and that of English charismatic, David Watson, were critical in the recent history at Spreydon. He noted that,

> ...the challenge was to know how to integrate [this] charismatic dimension into the life of an evangelical church without blowing it apart. ...Those evangelical congregations that had sought to move into this area had mainly done so with an Imported Pentecostal theology and practice, and the resultant mix had produced some spectacular explosions! ...evangelism was clearly the priority and I did not want our congregation to be the next statistic in the list of charismatic disasters. The turning point came with a visit to New Zealand by English Anglican evangelical leader David Watson. I was involved with him in a mission at the local university...he told me about their church in York. An evangelical church had been charismatically renewed, people exercised spiritual gifts, the worshipping life had developed, people were being converted—and there were no divisions resulting! I believed it could be done, but now someone was telling me it could. ... With a framework of Biblical teaching we began to see our worshipping life renewed. Prophetic gifts began to be exercised. We started praying with sick people and saw some of them healed—and the church didn't fall apart! ...
>
> Over the years the evangelical community in New Zealand has been profoundly influenced by the renewal movement, probably more so than in most Western countries. Within the Baptist community in New Zealand what we were discovering proved to be something of a catalyst that enabled others to embrace this renewal. The extent to which charismatic renewal has been accepted within the Baptist churches of New Zealand is probably unique.[147]

The Spreydon story demonstrates the successful integration of charismatic renewal into the wider life of a parish, and, under Robertson's leadership it has continued to selectively appropriate imported approaches such as the mega church model to meet changing needs.

Long-term and committed leadership appears to be a characteristic of mature charismatic churches. Of the three congregations reviewed in Chapter 6, the patterns evident in 1985 have continued. Hornby Presbyterian has remained under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, but as

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boasts more than 100 ministries and despite its congregation of several thousand, is, according to Hybels, 'actually a network of small groups'.

a growing charismatic-evangelical church it remains something of a maverick within the Christchurch Presbytery. The 1968 premises were completely rebuilt and enlarged in 2002. These gains were not without tension, however; the present pastoral leader, Murray Talbot attracted national attention in the late 1980s for his rejection of infant baptism—one of the key sacraments of the church.[148] Yule remarked 'I'm a joiner, a stayer, not a quitter',[149] which in his case meant nine years at Hornby, a relatively long period; but Talbot has been there for 15 years which has greatly helped the continuity and stability of renewal within the parish. By the end of Yule's tenure in 1987, the eldership had also been re-constituted and largely sympathetic to charismatic influence and direction.

The fortunes of Opawa Baptist have been mixed; slight growth occurred in the early and mid-1980s and both Brent Wood and the recent minister, Alan Webster, have demonstrated an enduring commitment to the parish, but the issue of charismatic influence continues to surface periodically. In recent years, an internal 'spiritual audit' resulted in an unprecedented move to issue letters of apology and reconciliation to the key players in the 1976 split and its aftermath.[150] The spectre of charismatic renewal from thirty years ago remains, even though the renewal itself is very different now to what it was then. The Sydenham AOG in Tuam Street now has a low profile compared to the busy days at Colombo Street in the 1970s. Dennis Barton continues to minister successfully at Beulah Christian Fellowship in Springfield Road. His tenure of ministry in the city (36 years) exceeds even that of Robertson at Spreydon Baptist. Among what he calls his 'trophies of grace'—the 'hippie' converts from 1972—are Philip and Christine Pringle who now oversee in excess of 100 pentecostal churches in Australia from their base in Sydney.

The local Catholic renewal after 1985 maintained some impetus with Ces Dennehy and others, and the Lamb Of God still advertises 'charismatic prayer

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[147] Murray Robertson, 'The Spreydon Story—A Reflection', unpublished paper, 1991, pages 3, 4 and 5. The last sentence is debatable particularly if the experience of renewal in Anglican churches is considered.
[148] He favoured believer's baptism as opposed to infant baptism as practised in the Presbyterian tradition. This ultimately led to an Assembly dispensation.
[149] Yule interview, 7 July 1998.
[150] Angus Simpson, telephone interview, 12 April 2002. Simpson was a former parish assistant from 1971.

meetings', although Dennehy died in 1996 and another centre of activity, the Redemptorist Monastery in Bower Avenue, closed in August 2001.[151] The Catholic-inspired Life in the Spirit Seminars were staple fare for many charismatic home groups right through the 1980s and had, since the early 1970s, been readily adopted by Protestants. Within Methodism, charismatic influence was most conspicuously felt in two parishes, Opawa and Shirley.[152] Both continued to mature as evangelical and charismatic in orientation, although a number of issues in both churches, mainly concerning developments in the wider connexion led to splits in the late 1990s. A key issue has been the ordination of homosexual clergy and the appointment in another Christchurch parish in 1997 exacerbated the issue. The result was a break from the connexion and the formation of Opawa Community Church; while at Shirley, this issue plus others relating to leadership led to a split there around the same time (1998). It should be noted however, that the renewal had been a catalyst in the conservative orientation of these parishes some years previously but the immediate cause of the splits lay in more recent events—the battles about renewal had been fought and won back in the 1970s.

Contemporary Australian pentecostal influence has been a feature of the 1990s scene in New Zealand. Like the mega church model, the Australian brands, Christian Life Centre and Christian City Church[153] for example, are non-denominational and embrace key understandings of church growth, including, and especially, new styles of music. A leader in this regard has been Hills Christian Life Centre in Sydney. What began with the Garratts in 1968 has evolved through 'Vineyard', 'Hosanna' and 'Maranatha' music, to 'Hillsong'. Against this backdrop the traditional pentecostal constituencies—City New Life, other New Life churches, Elim, Apostolic and AOG—continue in Christchurch but for City New Life in particular, the momentum of the 1970s has been lost. The so-called 'Toronto Blessing' of the early 1990s was embraced by some of these churches, but created widespread controversy and confusion in the process. The

[151] 'Bower Avenue Redemptorist Centre to close', *Christchurch Star*, n.d., circa July 2001.
[152] And of course, in the earlier years, when David Edmonds was presbyter there (circa 1963).
[153] The first Christian City Church (CCC) appeared in 1987 as a branch of CCC International. Alan Withy adds: 'It seeks to be evangelistic in non-traditional ways, particularly through coffee bars and rock concerts...In sharp contrast to the mainline churches, 60% of attenders are under twenty years of age'. 'Who's Growing, Who's Not' in Bruce Patrick (Ed), *New Vision New Zealand* (Auckland: Vision New Zealand, 1993), p. 137.

vicious machete attack on Morrow in September 1987 marked the decline of his active influence in the city although he continued to minister on occasions.

For all the gains of renewal there were of course, many problems and not only of a theological, structural or organisational nature, but personal ones as well. Serious problems mainly related to sexual impropriety were a reality in the wider renewal. And although not absent from the Christchurch scene, the key personnel discussed in this study displayed a high level of integrity which aided the respectability of renewal, minimised criticism and more importantly, preserved unity.

While inexcusable, sexual issues are predictable given the intensity of pentecostal and charismatic experience. Religious enthusiasm is characterised by its ability to excite and inspire the emotions meaning particular vulnerability to human weakness in this area. Renewal brought to the surface the gamut of emotions, often with catharsis, and dealing with these situations demanded high integrity and self-control, particularly for leaders with forceful personalities. Despite considerable gifts, exercising charismatic ministry exposed in some leaders real weaknesses—their giftings taking them where a lack of character could not sustain them. When this occurred, the effects were devastating and undermined not only trust in that person, but in the renewal, the church and, not infrequently, the faith itself. Recent attention about abuse in traditional churches means these problems are not confined to charismatics and pentecostals, although the utopianism and hyper-spirituality of these expressions adds to the media intrigue.

As one pastor has laconically put it, 'the tide is out on the renewal as we knew it in the seventies'. This being the case, the 'low tide' exposes everything the water at high tide covered. As the fragmentation of the 1980s has continued the failings of the renewal (including sexual impropriety) have come into clearer perspective.

In a fascinating turn of events, the old problem inherited from pentecostalism concerning intellectual and theological credibility has come full circle. Both pentecostals and charismatics have, in recent years, embraced the trend in

wider culture towards gaining credentials. Consequently many pastors have suddenly acquired academic credibility but such titles are not always genuine or issued by reputable tertiary institutions. In such cases, self-conscious awareness of the need to study is not as important as having credibility in a credentialled society.

Charismatic renewal is only one type of excitability within a much wider historical subset of religious enthusiasms. But it was not insignificant. It invigorated the Christian message for almost a generation of believers, greatly enhanced the traditional endeavours of evangelism and discipleship, brought an intimacy, reality, power and joy to the faith that would otherwise have been lacking. It also had endemic problems, mainly but not exclusively of a theological nature. These tended to be obscured in the early activity and excitement, but could not be ignored indefinitely within a changing cultural climate.

Theological concerns have been succinctly stated by Packer in his 1987 article 'The Holy Spirit and His Work'. Reiterating his earlier critique, *Keep in Step With the Spirit*, Packer, who describes himself as 'an evangelical inerrantist', stated that charismatic theology in its usual forms is not viable. He noted three particular areas which will serve as a summary of the related theological gaps facing the renewal past and present:

> (a) in **spirituality** (that is, the life and fellowship with God):
>
> Is Spirit-baptism, in the sense of a felt enlargement in assurance, peace, praise, sense of Christ's love and closeness, whole-heartedness of consecration, and uninhibitedness of Christian expression, divinely prescribed for all Christian people at some point following their first believing and/or their reception of water baptism? ...Does [glossolalia] always accompany Spirit-baptism? ... In what ways is it spiritually beneficial? Is it always beneficial? Is it proper to encourage all Christians to seek glossolaliac ability?
>
> *****
>
> (b) in **Christology**:
>
> Is it proper to see Jesus as the archetypal charismatic, and to view his water-baptism as the occasion of his Spirit-baptism? Does this idea reduce the incarnation of the pre-existent Son of God to a special case of God the Spirit indwelling a man, as liberal Christology does?
>
> (c) In **ecclesiology**:

> Are charismatic manifestations (tongues, prophecies, claimed miracles, claimed healings, claimed interpretations of tongues) a restoring or renewing of the "sign-gifts" that authenticated the apostles? ...
>
> Does God give revelations today that should have canonical status for the future?
>
> What pastoral-authority structures in and over charismatic communities are appropriate? ...
>
> How far should the confessional differences between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism be regarded as overcome, or transcended, through sharing charismatic experience? ...
>
> *****
>
> As "Jesusolatry" is lopsided and deficient, so is "Spiritolatry"; comprehensive Trinitarian devotion, founded on comprehensive Trinitarian doctrine, is essential if today's church is to find the fullness of the renewing and reviving that it needs.[154]

These questions do not admit of easy answers but they do throw into sharp relief the most significant weakness of the charismatic renewal: its experiential theology.[155]

The Christchurch renewal was arguably unique in New Zealand given the confluence of variables producing the genuine inter-denominational co-operation and spiritual unity that were its hallmarks in the mid-1970s. It both fed into and extended the local tradition of churches working together, but it did not reverse the overall trend towards numeric decline in main line churches, nor did it speak with confident authority into the social and political issues gripping the nation in the 1980s. For all its weaknesses, the overall legacy of renewal is arguably a positive one. It is now a valid interpretation of ministry and where it continues to be evident, is accepted without controversy—few get offended when arms go up in the 'worship' time or when the sick are prayed for with the laying on of hands. What were issues of such heated debate in the 1960s and 1970s have become normative practice.

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[154] James I. Packer, 'The Holy Spirit and His Work', *Crux*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, June 1987, pages 4, 5 and 16, emphasis in original.

[155] A much more austere conclusion is drawn by Andrew Sandlin a later colleague of Rushdoony's. While not specifically referring to the renewal, it was a component of 'New Christian' thinking: 'The new Christians [Sandlin writes] support crossing boundaries, cross-denominationalism, theological eclecticism, interdisciplinary vocationalism. The concept of objective and transcultural truth to which the church has held tenaciously for two millennia withers under the new Christians' utilitarian modernity'. *Chalcedon Report*, August 1996, p. 5.

At the parish level, the renewal strengthened the idea of congregational unity and most denominations had to respond to the challenge of incorporating it to a much greater degree than was first predicted in some quarters in the 1960s. At an individual level, the renewal promoted religious consumerism—despite denominational loyalties—one chooses where one is comfortable. This trend has accelerated in recent years rendering the old idea of 'parish boundaries' virtually meaningless.

The renewal also opened-up awareness to international developments in religious teaching and practice to an arguably greater extent than any other movement or influence. The sheer number of teachers from overseas was a phenomenon in itself and decisive in shaping the character of the local renewal. The entrenched problem charismatics have had responding to social and political issues, including the 'in-house' problem of liberal influence within denominations, has, to some extent, since the 1990s been addressed through the presence of AFFIRM groups. While more evangelical and theologically conservative rather than charismatic in nature, these groups have been established to regain firm boundaries on doctrinal and ethical issues, and address a generally felt concern that the denominational churches have lost their way.[156] For charismatics who have persisted in their denominations, these sorts of groups have met some of the combined issues inherited from the renewal; notably, theological concerns and the need for social awareness and action, as well, of course, as providing a bulwark against the continued inroads of liberalism.

Summary

Integrating charismatic renewal into local parishes began in the 1970s and continued throughout that decade and beyond. Increasingly however, at all levels the renewal began to fragment. This was caused by a combination of international developments, theological reflection, the rise of alternative spiritualities, the appearance of new and niche forms of ministry and the

[156] Presbyterian AFFIRM (Action, Faith, Fellowship, Intercession, Renewal and Mission), for example, was formed in June 1993, while Methodist AFFIRM later mobilised around objections in 1997 to the issue of homosexuals in leadership.

encroachment of political issues such as the 1981 Springbok rugby tour and later, in 1985, the Homosexual Law Reform Bill.

Many evangelicals charismatics, pentecostals tried to remain apolitical and deal with the problems on a spiritual level, but others saw the value of organised response. In some instances, this awareness altered the eschatological stance from premillennialism to postmillennialism. Conservative response consolidated firstly in the form of the Coalition of Concerned Citizens in 1985 and later in the Christian Heritage Party in 1989. Both have been linked to the emergence of a similar groups in the USA, namely the 'Moral Majority' or the more generic description of this phenomenon, the 'New Christian Right'.

Within the national renewal, CAM was experiencing financial and other difficulties including 'competition' from Dove Ministries and denominational renewal movements. Locally, the Summer Schools became increasingly difficult to run due to the cost, although alternatives did appear such as a 'mini' Summer School at Hillmorton High School. After the visit of the American John Wimber and his team in 1986, CAM supported these events in preference to their own Summer Schools. Overseas speakers continued to appear in Christchurch including a significant number of return visitors from the 1960s and 1970s. The voluntary demise of the Anglican-led Group 70 in 1978 paralleled other changes and while understandable after eight years of intense activity, inadvertently helped erode the strong continuity characterising the Christchurch renewal.

By the end of 1985 the Christchurch charismatic scene was quite different to that of a decade before. It was more diverse but the supra-denominational cohesion had ebbed and it took on an institutional, rather than radical character. The most profound changes occurred at the parish level where a number of churches grew into relative maturity. By the late 1980s another generation was emerging which made it necessary to re-teach the basic principles and practices of renewal all over. Church splits continued in the 1980s but generally these lacked the heated exchanges of the polarisation phase (1965-1973), and although feelings on renewal were a factor, there were other issues involved as well.

The three phases of renewal have been identified as polarisation, integration and fragmentation. In retrospect, the legacy of the charismatic renewal in Christchurch is a mixed one: it irrevocably altered the ecclesiological landscape for better or worse, but generally it is believed, in positive ways. The initial enthusiasm promised much but as always, what advocates believed was the sovereign move of God, was affected very much by human frailty as well. The hurts, disappointments and division stand alongside the joys and 'blessings'.

The more recent developments of the 1990s owe much to the renewal and many identifiable trends can be traced directly to their origins in the 1980s, although overseas models particularly from America and Australia, continue to exert an influence. And the story continues to be 'made' in the on-going life of ordinary believers and their churches. As E. H. Carr has put it in his famous epithet, 'And yet—it moves'.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored the interaction of the charismatic renewal in Christchurch with its surrounding social and historical context. The renewal did not appear in a vacuum. It had clear and identifiable roots in several prior religious movements, but as an historical phenomenon it was also inextricably related to a particular social milieu. This study has examined the links between religious and social change during the crucial metamorphosis from post World War II New Zealand society to the mid-1980s. Christchurch has provided a case study of religious communities profoundly affected by the charismatic renewal.

As a religious movement, the renewal was an enthusiastic phenomenon. It had much in common with historical expressions of religious excitability, the most prominent characteristic being primitivism, or a belief that charismatic activity was rediscovering what had been lost to the Church since the Acts of the Apostles. This was in fact, an old idea—the Montanists, for example, an apocalyptic sect of the second century practised *glossolalia* (or tongues), thought themselves more spiritual than other believers and held to a universal priesthood of all believers—as did charismatics many centuries later. Like the Montanists, there was an inherent tendency towards schism. The sharing of these characteristics with earlier movements means charismatic renewal can be considered in relation to known patterns of religious enthusiasm.

The historical interactions across the 1960 to 1985 period were dialectical in nature revealing that renewal was a finely textured phenomenon very sensitive to social and cultural change. It was also highly adaptable, but not theologically very self-aware, particularly in the earlier years. Inheriting as it did pentecostal distinctives, theology was always going to be an issue, but the excitement and impetus of the local renewal masked the seriousness of these concerns until the late 1970s.

Renewal burst upon the Christchurch scene in 1962. It sought to change individuals, the church and society, but was itself profoundly changed. Reality caught up with enthusiasm and modified it in the process, eventually fragmenting its cohesion and absorbing much of its energy.

Exploring this topic has had attendant problems. The writer has been personally involved in charismatic renewal which raises issues of detachment and objectivity. A conscious effort has been made to research and examine the data as objectively as possible in knowledge of the fact that a degree of bias in the selection of material and emphasis is inevitable. Equally however, it could be argued, that involvement in renewal, particularly the experience of both its highs and lows, is invaluable. Another issue is the close proximity to the events of the 1980s. It is generally more difficult to write history when one lives near the period being investigated, and indeed, historically, it may be too soon to impose with clear objectivity a sense of perspective on the 1980s or even the 1970s. In response, many key personnel involved in the renewal are now elderly and recording their stories while this was still possible was an important consideration. There were conceptual issues as well; tracking the internal developments within the renewal itself is challenging, but increasingly so when the interaction with wider historical forces are methodologically of equal importance.

Three basic questions have determined the shape and focus of the study: Why did the charismatic renewal develop so rapidly and to such an extent in Christchurch?, What were the principal motifs of the Christchurch renewal?, and, What variables facilitated the major changes and shifts in the Christchurch renewal? Some answers to these questions can be provided.

Despite the economic affluence of the 1950s, New Zealand, like other western societies, was having to come to terms with the communist threat and the reality of the Cold War. New Zealand's security alliances, ANZUS for example, reflected the realignment and shifting power bloc occurring in many societies after 1945. The economic and historical links with Britain continued, but it was not until the 1960s that wide-scale social changes began to be felt. These were particularly evident in a new and large demographic group born after World War

II, the baby boomers. Music, fashion, dress and a 'generation gap' gave youth and youth issues a new poignancy. For traditional religion, these were challenging times, and in the mainline churches there began in the 1960s, a long-term trend towards declining attendances and membership statistics.

Not all religious groups suffered however. What occurred in New Zealand tended to mirror the situation in other western societies, notably in the United States, albeit, on a much smaller scale. In America the resurgent interest in pentecostalism from the late 1940s can be attributed to the work of the healing-evangelists, Oral Roberts and William Branham in particular. The spectacular impact of their mass rallies was rivalled in popularity by the success of the new evangelicals, notably Billy Graham. In Graham, the old-time fundamentalism of the 1920s had been replaced by a more modern and popular style. These new expressions gained traction by providing religious certainty and security in troubled times. The Christian message was successfully repackaged for a new era. Specific events, such as the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962 and the Vietnam War from 1964, added to the sense of security provided by 'clear-cut' religious faith, as did concerns in several quarters about the 'new' liberal theology of the mid-1960s.

Graham's visit to New Zealand in April 1959 rekindled interest in youth issues, evangelism and the general need for churches to meet the challenges of the 1960s. Continuing a long tradition of inter-denominational activity, organisation for the crusade in Christchurch facilitated close co-operation across churches and leaders. The renewal a few years later benefited from this; inter-denominational co-operation in the city was extended and refined to a high degree.

The renewal developed rapidly within this setting for a number of reasons. Firstly, it had leadership, a catalyst and continuing centre of energy in the form of Peter Morrow, the independent pentecostal who had settled in the city in June 1962. Despite being a pentecostal with Latter Rain training, he was a central figure in the local charismatic renewal. A former itinerant evangelist with experience in Australia and throughout New Zealand, Morrow intuitively operated beyond church boundaries and insisted that people at his meetings affected by pentecostal phenomena, namely Spirit baptism and tongues, returned to their

own churches. The Revival Fellowship as Morrow's church soon became known, ran an outreach called 'Adullam's Cave' from 1965 and this was pivotal in exposing large numbers of people in the historic churches to pentecostal belief and practice.

Morrow also conducted meetings at Rangiora and other peripheral centres, and his marriage to Anne Botherway in 1964 enhanced the work in the city as Anne had strengths particularly in women's ministry. 'Adullam's Cave' was a centre of activity, but Morrow's 'wide' style of embracing others without sectarian bias, was as important as his message. The cross pollination of these ideas into the historic churches occurred through affected individuals and gave rise to a new phenomenon, 'neo-pentecostalism'. The self-conscious sense of separation these people experienced in their own churches had a dynamism, and due to continued 'feeding' from Morrow, overseas speakers, the locally-produced journal *Logos*, and later, the CAM Summer Schools, there was considerable momentum characterising the Christchurch scene. By the mid-1970s, the city renewal had sustained leadership from a variety of sources. First published in August 1966, *Logos* was a testimony and teaching journal which did much to facilitate the growing interest in charismatic renewal but was equally significant in introducing New Zealanders to leading overseas advocates, particularly the English charismatic Michael Harper, and the self-professed 'ecumaniac', South African David du Plessis.

The history of religious pluralism, relatively cordial relations between churches as well as establishment of the NCC in 1941 and moves towards formal ecumenism, all augured well for the Christchurch renewal, as did suburban growth in the 1960s. Even the fervour of the Billy Graham approach and emphasis on 'decisions for Christ' seemed increasingly inadequate, as did the exclusive claims of some visiting pentecostals in the early 1960s. Leaders from all churches were keen to reach the new youth constituency and retain spiritual vitality. Morrow tirelessly bridged the gap between the exclusive, fringe activities of pentecostals and the nascent 'neo-pentecostalism' in the historic churches. This had the combined effect of making pentecostalism more mainstream and providing the energy and ideas that encouraged the first signs of change in other churches.

Despite these efforts and the new description 'charismatic renewal', these changes were met with clamant opposition, tension and division in some parishes, although the overall momentum was not adversely affected. By 1973 the levels of networking, teaching activity (including the input from overseas speakers) and general enthusiasm gave the Christchurch renewal a supra-denominational character while the explicit emphasis was now on integrating beliefs and practices into local parishes.

The principal motifs of the local renewal (the second key question) are readily identifiable and have already been mentioned. The level of inter-denominational activity and genuine working together towards *unity* was both a means, and a means to an end. The goal was being 'one in Christ' and the way of achieving this was 'unity in the Spirit'. A second distinguishing feature was the vast number of para-church and niche groups that existed to facilitate unity. This supporting infrastructure provided real impetus in the early 1970s.

By 1985 three phases of the renewal were evident. The first, spanning 1965 to 1975, has been referred to as the *polarisation* period. Across these years renewal tended to be viewed in clear terms of acceptance/advocacy or opposition/rejection. Both groups—but for different reasons—understood the radical and fringe nature of charismatic belief and practice. Increasingly however, due to the sheer momentum, this gave way to a period of *integration* from 1973 to 1982. During these years renewal was successfully accommodated into parishes and congregations. The integration process was in direct response to the leadership provided by CAM and calls for unity issued by a range of visiting speakers. It was during this frenetic phase that the renewal reached the zenith of its organisation unity and strength around 1977. In the decade up to and including that year, in excess of 60 overseas minister and pastors, many of international reputation, visited Christchurch, and the Lincoln Summer School attracted 404 persons—the largest attendance at any school in the city up to that time.

The advent of CAM in 1973 distanced the renewal from its neo-pentecostal roots, although in Christchurch the relationship with Morrow and other pentecostals

remained cordial. There was much continued networking and joint facilitation particularly in relation to overseas speakers. By the early eighties however, CAM was experiencing financial and personnel difficulties and sourcing suitable visiting speakers became more difficult and costly. In addition, groups such as the Auckland-based Dove Ministries were emerging and FGBMFI was wresting at least some of the initiative away from CAM and had the advantage of being an international organisation. A simultaneous development was the formation of denominational renewal movements, notably the Paraclete Trust within the Presbyterian Church in 1982 and ARM; the latter led by former CAM director, and charismatic pioneer, Ray Muller, in 1983.

During the 1970s the locus of renewal evolved from personal 'encounter' to the local parish. Three city churches illustrated the issues related to this process and were examined in detail; Hornby Presbyterian, Opawa Baptist and Sydenham AOG. All were impacted by renewal but in different ways and for different reasons. Hornby illustrates the painful transition that occurs when an evangelical church adopts a charismatic ethos: Opawa Baptist; what happens when renewal intrudes into the life of a church unsure how to respond: and Sydenham; how the tendrils of renewal extended into the life of a traditional pentecostal constituency. These churches each experienced schism, although at Hornby Presbyterian, there were other variables as well, including reaction to the Geering affair in the late 1960s, while at both Opawa Baptist and Sydenham AOG, pastoral leadership was a critical factor in the fortunes of those churches. Others, too, were also significantly affected, including *inter alia* Spreydon Baptist, Rutland Street Chapel, Shirley and Opawa Methodist. In a wider and dialectical sense it can be said that virtually *all* churches were affected, even if renewal provided an opportunity to critique charismatic teaching and practice, or reassert traditionally held doctrines. Rejection ranged from a view of renewal as a faddish, eccentric spirituality—the Bishop of Christchurch in the 1970s, Allan Pyatt, once referred to it as 'folk religion'—through to definitive dismissals, as 'heresy'.

After 1977 a confluence of variables, including changes within the city (the demise of Group 70 and the Unity Singers, for example), the problems in CAM, and international developments such as the Third Wave, all altered the renewal,

as did the inexorable politicisation of moral and religious causes from the mid-1970s, including sex education, abortion, race relations, and women's advocacy. The Springbok rugby tour of 1981 and the Homosexual Law Reform Bill of 1985 were flashpoints for the truculence of a new consciouness and awareness of human rights issues. A local issue, the Eric Sides' employment case in 1979, was a portend of the later tensions between conservative Christians including charismatics, and the encroachment of a new political order.

The effect on the renewal of these internal and external variables was a *fragmentation* (the third phase) which continued well into the 1990s. The strength and cohesion of the mid-1970s was gone despite there being many new forms and expressions of charismatic and pentecostal practice. The Third Wave in particular, blurred what it meant to be 'charismatic' and 'pentecostal' and, as a result, non-denominational churches emerged making it is no longer accurate to speak of 'the charismatic renewal' with any coherence as in the 1970s.

The emphasis on emotion through music has been consistent throughout pentecostalism and the charismatic renewal, but the foci has shifted over the years, in many ways paralleling the contours of the fragmentation itself. The folk-like simplicity of the early Scripture in Song music evolved into more sophisticated rock genres accompanied by full instrumentation and themes reflective of psychological and therapeutic, as well as theistic emphases. It would appear one's *experience* remains primary within the broader charismatic and pentecostal rubric. Since 1985, the influence of the Australian brands, such as Christian Life Centre and Christian City Church have been predominant: an interesting feature of these churches, and one which owes at least some debt to the renewal, is their explicitly non-denominational doctrine and polity. This is an extension of the Third Wave-Vineyard ethos of the early eighties which blended and dissolved pentecostal and charismatic distinctives.

In churches that accommodated it, charismatic renewal provided an important impetus for traditional activities such as evangelism, discipleship and outreach. It provided new perspectives and generally invigorated the Christian message at a critical historical juncture. Its impact on churches in Christchurch was however, qualitative rather than quantitative—it did not result in large increases

in membership or attendance, nor did it arrest wider societal trends towards numerical decline within the denominations, but its effect on individuals, parishes and contemporary ecclesiology were profound and, for the most part, beneficial. As a religious movement, charismatic renewal revitalised the 'old, old story' for many baby boom Christians by introducing a power dimension considered neglected but so critical to the redeemed life. As an historical movement, the renewal conformed to the patterns evident in other expressions of religious enthusiasm and evolved along a similar pathway of ascendancy and decline. It lost its radical edge of separation—likened in this study to the stellar brilliance of a meteorite—and became more structured and institutionalised over time. It unified like-minded believers to an incredibly strong degree in Christchurch, but its fissiparous tendencies and theological lacunae were, at best, merely obscured beneath the frenetic activity of the mid-1970s. In time, these issues surfaced and were exacerbated by the encroachment of a politically charged culture during the 1980s.

This study raises many questions and new topics for further inquiry. The most obvious is a comparative study with other cities in New Zealand. Palmerston North, for example, was another centre markedly affected by charismatic renewal and it could be the subject of analysis employing a similar methodology. Given that Christchurch has always had a much larger population than Palmerston North, were demographic considerations more or less prominent in an analysis of renewal in that city? Is a certain size necessary to generate the dynamic of separation that was evident in Christchurch? A comparative or parallel study could furnish some answers. A study of this nature would also provide yet another angle on the important and dialectical interplay of religious, historical and local variables.

Theological studies could, as a starting point, return to the issue first raised at the 1982 symposium sponsored by the chaplains at the University of Auckland; namely, Is it sensible to speak of an 'authentic New Zealand theology', and if so, what conclusions could be drawn in light of twenty (subsequent) years of charismatic evolution? This study might furnish new understandings of what is meant by 'religious experience' in the New Zealand context. The CAM material definitely warrants further analysis and would be an important source for future

research into these studies, or as a topic in its own right. As identified in this study, Christian Advance was a major source of inspiration for the national renewal and the volume and quality of records that have survived make this a most valuable resource for future theological and historical inquiries.

A forthcoming doctoral study by Kevin Ward of Otago University has examined selected churches in Christchurch. Specifically, Ward has looked at church decline and growth across the period 1960 to 1999 and placed his findings in the context of national patterns and in relation to other western societies. Four churches (including Spreydon Baptist) have provided case studies around those two parameters. Ward contends that thriving churches such as Spreydon have combined an orthodox (sic) understanding of the Christian message while adopting and adapting contemporary forms and styles of ministry. The most significant cause of decline in other churches, he argues, are the social and cultural changes that began in the 1960s and have continued since that decade. These changes have adversely affected more traditional and liberal constituencies. While the focus in Ward's study is ecclesiological adaptation, it explores further the interplay of social change and religious response in Christchurch.

Another investigation that could emerge from this thesis is the relationship between charismatic renewal and church union. This was first raised over twenty years ago by Colin Brown but has remained a little explored domain. Was there any substantive connection in the ebb and flow of both movements? On the surface it would appear not, but the possible relationship could form the basis of an in-depth analysis. In a similar vein, the speculative links made in Chapter 5 between the renewal and the wider historical pattern of ecumenical and inter-denominational co-operation in Christchurch needs to be explored more thoroughly.

The present study also raises obvious questions about the renewal in more recent times, that is, after 1985. This has been touched on towards the end of Chapter 8, but closer analysis of later trends is necessary to better understand the on-going story of contemporary religious change in Christchurch. Questions could include: To what extent can developments in the 1990s be properly

attributed to the historic charismatic renewal? Is there genuine continuity with the patterns and trends of earlier eras?, and, Do the later expressions demonstrate a learning from the problems of the past? Related issues might include the wide acceptance of qualifications and credentials in pentecostal and charismatic circles—a complete reversal from the attitudes of the early 1960s. Knox asked of the Montanists—were they innovators or reactionaries? Expressed another way, and in reference to the charismatic renewal: Can religious trends ever be truly innovative or are they invariably replicating aspects of wider cultural change (for example, the embracing of consumerism)?

Such questions must be asked if we are to better understand the nature of the religious movements themselves, as well as the societies from which they have come.

APPENDIX

AGENDA FOR AUDIO-TAPED INTERVIEWS, 1997-2003

CHARISMATIC RENEWAL IN CHRISTCHURCH, 1960-1985
TOPICS TO BE COVERED

1. Initial awareness of charismatic renewal

- First personal awareness of/contact with charismatic things
- First awareness of/contact with charismatic things in Christchurch
- First awareness of/contact with charismatic things in your parish/fellowship

Describe your theology of the *charismata.*

Who were the first leaders you can recall teaching about the renewal?

What do you perceive as the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of the renewal?

2. Involvement in the charismatic renewal

Did you come to an understanding or personal experience of the renewal before/after at the same time as others in your church?

To what extent were you involved in leadership and/or advocacy of the renewal in the 1960s and 1970s?

To what extent did your parish or fellowship adapt or react to the renewal?

What tensions were evident? Were these helpful or divisive? If divisive, were they satisfactorily resolved? How?

3. Charismatic renewal in Christchurch

Describe how you saw the church scene in Christchurch in the period 1965 to 1990.

What were the issues in the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s?

In your view, why did the renewal have such an impact in Christchurch? Were there unique factors unique to the city which impeded or facilitated the renewal?

In what ways did the renewal mature? For example, in the areas of teaching, the understanding of sign gifts, music, the expansion of local and international mission? (other areas?)

What impact did political, social and moral issues have on the renewal and how were these dealt with in Christchurch?

What was your knowledge of/connection with the following para-church groups, organisations or events?:

- Group 70
- The Jesus Marches
- FGBMFI
- Women's Aglow
- Anglican Renewal Ministries/Paraclete Trust (or other denominational renewal movements)
- Christian Advance Ministries (CAM)
- Life in the Spirit Seminars
- Bread of Life
- 'Adullam's Cave'
- The New Life Bible School (Thorrington Road)
- CAM Summer Schools, Lincoln College
- *Logos/Advance* or other journals

- Any other group or activity not listed above

What church splits were you aware of/involved with across these years?

To what extent were differences about the renewal behind these splits?

Were you aware of any informal and inter-denominational networking that went on amongst pastors, clergy and others to promote the renewal in Christchurch?

Describe what you see as the links between pentecostal beliefs and the charismatic renewal. What were relations between pentecostals and those in the historic churches like in this period? What changes took place between pentecostals and charismatics across the period 1965-1980?

To what extent did particular churches distance themselves from the renewal? In your view, did the renewal play a role in helping these churches to clarify/restate their own distinctives?

In your opinion, was there any relationship between the major issue of church union and the charismatic renewal? If so, how would you describe that relationship? If not, why do you think this was the case?

Was there any connection, in your view, between the presence of the National Council of Churches (with its headquarters in Christchurch) and the impact of the renewal?

What is the enduring legacy of the charismatic renewal on the churches? In your view, would certain aspects of worship and ministry (e.g. healing services and contemporary music) have occurred anyway as the churches responded to a changing society, or do such elements owe a direct debt to the renewal?

Are there any other points you wish to make?

Are there any other people you would recommend I approach for an interview?

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